

DISSENTANGLING HAITI: A HISTORY OF DEPENDENCY

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Haiti Tomorrow

When it's free, oh Haiti's going to be beautiful
You'll hear, you'll be hearing about it
When it's free, oh Haiti will be beautiful!
You'll hear about that little land on the move oh
You'll hear.

We may lose people, we may lose battles
But losing Haiti is something else
Should the blood of one patriot flow
There'll be a dozen others rising up.

The struggle's really tough and can last a long time
But from day to day it keeps on moving.¹
Hard times await us up ahead
But we'll never get discouraged.
We know Haiti will be a beautiful land
Where whoever plants will reap the harvest
And whoever sweats will earn his rest.

When that time come, women will wear hibiscus in their hair
Guys red bandannas around their necks
In the street, all the kids will be singing
And even the old folks will say: Well, it's finally arrived.

Yet as a pumpkin seed doesn't produce a calabash
Laziness just doesn't bring about victory
A single raindrop can't make a flood
Human fingernails won't cut wood
We can't just sit on our hands
If we really want that day to arrive
No one ever gets freedom as a gift
Freedom is for people who are brave.

- Koralen Jan-Klod Matino

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This project is dedicated to my mother, Denise Kaiser,
for helping me rise to my fullest potential.
Thank you

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ABSTRACT

DISSENTANGLING HAITI: A HISTORY OF DEPENDENCY

by Jennifer Kathleen Knott

The question asked in my thesis is why and how is Haiti extremely dependent upon foreign NGOs and humanitarian aid. Haiti was the first country to free its slaves in and because of this it was punished with non-recognition from the United States, France, and the whole international community in the nineteenth century. How did the 2010 earthquake destroy seventy percent of Haiti's infrastructure and why has it suffered through so many military coups? Haiti has a history of dependency and has yet to truly be a sovereign nation. This thesis demonstrates why and how Haiti has ended up in its current dependent state.

The thesis is broken into six chapters. Each chapter examines a different infrastructure and looks at how and why it has not developed. The first and sixth chapters are the introduction and conclusion while the middle chapters examine Haiti's Health care system, educational system, and its paramilitaries, prison, and judicial infrastructures. The research used to write the thesis came from the most current literature available and there is much out there on the subject of Haiti. I used the Internet, books, periodicals, newspapers, and documentaries to conduct my research. I wanted to focus on all of Haiti's underdevelopment within its infrastructures and show a broad picture of Haiti's dependency.

In my thesis conclusion I found that Haiti has had a history of violence, which has led to its history of dependency. In this recent research it became clear that Haiti became dependent on foreign and humanitarian aid due to corrupt governments and oppressing paramilitaries. Jeb

Sprague and Peter Hallward have both written on the controversial foreign policies of the U.S. and its pro-business interests towards Haiti. I focused on how these policies and interests have affected each major infrastructure of Haiti from health care to education to prison and judicial.

I concluded that Haiti was punished when it became an independent nation in 1804 because of global pervasive racism. From there Haiti suffered through nationalist dictators, military coups, and severe oppression of the Haitian poor. The U.S. has undermined every attempt at popular democracy or in other words Aristide's Famni Lavalas party. This has led me to agree with historian Philippe Girard that the U.S. should open its trade with Haiti tax-free on Haitian goods and create the conditions for self-sustaining economic growth.

The thesis is intended to provide an expansive overview of Haiti's infrastructures and its sweeping dependency within these infrastructures. Haiti is a developing nation that remains underdeveloped and through this research it became clear this is due to international interests that go against developing Haiti.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a story within a story – so slippery at the edges that one wonders when and where it started and whether it will ever end. – Michel-Rolph Trouillot, 1995

Haiti presents the world with a devastating history of violence, oppression, and unending poverty. It is a heavy history and is entangled with the history of France, the United States and the Caribbean world. Since Port-au-Prince is located only 709 miles from Miami, Florida the U.S. has secured and protected their trading interests with Haiti and Haiti's ports since the nineteenth century. This thesis looks at how, why, and what went wrong with Haiti's history of development and dependency. Why, if Haiti has received billions of dollars in international aid over the course of two centuries, is Haiti completely undeveloped in every basic infrastructure? How has the international community, more specifically the United States, helped or hindered the development and dependency of Haiti and how has this affected the human rights of the millions of Haitians? Finally in conclusion this thesis will try to understand why and what can be done to overcome Haiti's debilitating dependency; is this dependency another way for the international community to repress the poor in Haiti?

First and foremost Haiti is a country with dreadful statistics and it is important to understand these statistics in order to fully understand Haiti's history. Haiti has been the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere for decades and remains so making it vulnerable to exploitation. According to recent data from the World Bank, the current population is over 10 million of which 95% are black and live in abject poverty while the other 5% are white or mulatto and own more than 50% of the wealth. Haitians remain the most uneducated people in the Caribbean with two thirds of the educated Haitians immigrating to neighboring countries.

Haitians have known some of the worst oppression, fear, civil unrest, and human rights abuses in human history and many of these abuses continue in present day Haiti. Because of these conditions Haitians have been occupied by foreign countries, dictators, and currently by humanitarian organizations. This occupation of Haiti by the US, the Duvaliers, the Minustah, and thousands of other NGOs has proven detrimental to its sovereignty and thus Haiti has become dependent upon foreign aid, NGOs, and international occupation to take care of basic human needs.

Haiti's distribution of wealth is grossly unequal with a GINI index of 60. The GINI¹ index measures "the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption expenditure among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution," in other words a 0 rating is perfect equality and a 100 is absolutely unequal (World Bank). The U.S. has a GINI index of 40 (World Bank). Unequal distribution such as is the case with Haiti is found where there is corruption, bribery, and oppression of the masses. The elite Haitians live in extreme wealth compared to the more than fifty percent of Haitians living on less than US\$1 a day and 80% living on less than US\$2 a day. Haiti's GDP as of 2011 is US\$7.4 million which is less than the total population of Haiti (World Bank).

Haiti's current minimum wage is roughly US\$2.25 a day and with the help of USAID Haiti has failed on numerous occasions to raise their minimum wage to \$5 a day (Ragen 1994, 33; Sprague 2012, 60; Hallward 2010, 37; Girard 2010, 124-5; Farmer 2006, 145), but with an unemployment rate of over 70% and 80% of the population living in extreme poverty a minimum wage increase would not affect the majority of the population². This thesis focuses on how "successive American governments, whether Republican or Democratic, have continued to

put national interest above human rights in foreign policy,” (Ibister 2006, 215) and because of this decision to ignore human rights, Haiti has suffered dire consequences. Haiti has become dependent on the international community for loans, monetary aid, and humanitarian needs and this dependency has had incapacitating consequences for Haitians. Haiti’s slippery edges make it easy for the country to fall through the cracks of a globalized, world and that much more difficult to disentangle itself from this same world. The following pages will examine various sources of this dependency, beginning with Haiti's efforts to extricate itself from slavery, and the continued political, economic, social, and ecological fallout that it has since endured.

CHAPTER II

HAITI: A NARRATION OF DEPENDENCY

In order to understand the extreme dependency in Haiti one must understand the history of Haiti and of its dependency. Before Haiti was formed by slaves in a bloody revolution it was Hispaniola and occupied by the Spanish and native Taino Indians (Girard 2010, ch 1). In 1697 France colonized the western third of the island with the Treaty of Ryswick and this part of the island became known as Sainte-Domingue (Girard 2010, 22). France became wealthy off of slave labor and sugarcane, which was the “oil of the eighteenth century,” (Girard 2010, 23) and Sainte-Domingue “was the greatest and most profitable of all the sugar islands,” (Girard 2010, 23). Therefore when the slaves revolted against French colonizers in 1791 it was a destructive blow to France and its economy. It was not until after the slaves won their revolution that the western third of the island was named Haiti.

Wealthy countries such as France and the United States were unclear how to deal with Haiti after they won their fight for independence in 1804. The US and France appeared scarred of Haiti because it was a nation of free slaves and this went against the interests of the US who were trying to preserve and defend their slave economy. Haitians fought a vicious and bloody revolution with France in order to win their independence in 1804; however because the Haitian’s revolution freed the slaves of Sainte-Domingue wealthy nations such as the U.S. feared for security amongst its own institution of slavery. As Ashli White points out “at least ten thousand exiles—black, white, and free people of color—migrated to the United States in the

1790s,” (White 2004, 363) and it was because of this mass migration of Haitians or emancipated slaves into the United States that Americans “worried about the possible spread of rebellion to their own shores,” (White 2004, 363). Thus the U.S. did not recognize Haiti as an independent nation until 1862 (Mintz 1995, 78) due primarily to the fear of slaves uprising in the United States because of influence from the Haitian Revolution.

However the size of Haiti’s slave population was extremely large compared to the United States. Sainte-Domingue in 1790 had roughly 28,000 *gens de couleur* (free black men), 452,000 black slaves, and 40,000 white plantation owners (Mintz 1995, 76); compared to the United States, which had 2,792,325 free white people, 58,277 free non-white people, and 681,777 slaves in 1790 (Wahl 2008). The high number of slaves compared to white slave owners in Sainte-Domingue is one of the reasons the slaves successfully rebelled against the French colonialists.

From 1791 until 1804 the French colony of Sainte-Domingue experienced the largest slave uprising in history lead by Toussaint L’Ouverture a *gen de couleur* to become the first all black nation known as Haiti. Toussaint L’Ouverture was a former slave turned landowner who took up arms to lead the Haitian Revolution. He was an astounding diplomat, leading the enslaved people of Sainte Domingue to become the first free all black colony (Girard 2005; 43-8). This caused a ripple through the Atlantic world, which can be felt today. This was a tremendous blow to the French economy because Haiti accounted for one third of France’s commerce wealth through sugar, coffee, tobacco, rum, and other agricultural commodities (Mintz 1995, 75; Farmer 2006, 54-6;). Not only was Saint Domingue the apex of agriculture for France they also became by the mid-eighteenth century the “zenith of the Atlantic slave system,” (Mintz 1995, 75).

L'Ouverture kept trade and diplomatic relations open with the United States until Thomas Jefferson became president in 1801 (Girard 2009, 87) at which time Jefferson ended all relations and placed embargos upon the newly formed nation of Haiti and these embargoes lasted until 1810 (Montague 1966, 47). L'Ouverture understood the importance of economic trade and peaceful relations with the United States (Girard 2009); however after Haiti's independence the United States would change administrations and Jeffersonian policies would punish the nation with non-recognition status (Montague 1966, ch 3). In the early years of Haitian independence the United States would draw attention away from the successful slave revolution by refusing to acknowledge or speak about the revolution and independent state of Haiti, "Our policy with regard to Hayti is plain. We never can acknowledge her independence . . . which the peace and safety of a large portion of our Union forbids us to even discuss. –Robert Y. Hayne, 1825," Robert Hayne was a US Senator from South Carolina (Montague 1966, 47). In order to prevent the slaves in the U.S. from revolting the U.S. decided not to have diplomatic or economic relations with Haiti (Mintz 1995, 78; Montague 1966, 47).

L'Ouverture was seized in 1802 and sent to Fort-de-Joux where he died after a year of interrogation and torture ("Toussaint Louverture" Encyclopædia Britannica Online). After the capture of Toussaint General Jean Jaques Dessaline presided over the army and in 1804 declared victory for the Haitian Revolutionaries thus Haiti became the first nation emancipated from slavery and formed the first free nation of black people in the Caribbean (Girard 2010, ch 2). The Haitian Revolution was an extension of the French Revolution and their Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (White 2010, 4) in which they declared all men had natural rights that should and needed to be protected (Maslan 2004, 360). The men who drafted the

declaration for France “were deeply conscious that its implications and ambitions were global,” (Maslan 2004, 359) because this idea of the declaration being used in a global way was the main argument against the document (Maslan 2004, 361). Thus when the slaves of Saint Domingue took up arms against the French colonialists it was a blow to France because this revolt was fundamentally built on the rights of man. Haiti has been struggling to gain and maintain their human rights for more than two centuries and it is because of the self-serving actions taken by wealthy nations as the U.S. and France that Haiti has been unable to maintain their natural rights of man.

Haiti was in an excellent disposition when it manifested in a Caribbean with the most powerful white slave owning colonies in the world. Therefore Haiti was punished first by France, which required Haiti to pay enormous indemnities in order to be recognized as a free nation (Mintz 1995, 78). Secondly, Haiti was punished with a non-recognition status from the U.S. and the U.S. was not ever willing to negotiate payment for recognition as France had done (Montague 1966, ch 3). Indemnities are in most instances a fee paid to the victor of war not the other way around, as was the case with Haiti. Haiti not only paid indemnities to France for their freedom but the United States also placed embargos upon the newly freed nation (Mathewson 1996, 22); because of these penalties Haiti had little ability to grow and advance their position in the Caribbean. This proved detrimental to Haiti’s economic growth because although they had ports, sugar, molasses, and coffee wealthy nations would not deal diplomatically or have economic trade with the free slaves of Haiti. These penalties placed upon Haiti early on in their development led to Haiti’s long standing dependency because jobs, economic growth, and global trading were stifled for most of a century.

These punishments are unique to Haiti. There is not another country that fought and won a war in which the victor was punished so heinously. The tragic part of these punishments is their outcome, which can be seen and felt even today. After its revolution Haiti was left with over 100,000 of the 452,000 slaves dead and 24,000 of the 40,000 white plantation owners dead (“Haitian Revolution”). The people left to re-create their country were mostly illiterate and uneducated, unlike the U.S., which started its country with the “highest percentage of college graduates [out] of any country in the world,”(Mintz 1995, 80). Haitians’ illiteracy was due to the slavery they endured from France. Because of slavery most black Haitians did not learn to read or write and this made things difficult for Haitians trying to develop a new country in the early nineteenth century. Haitians refused to work on the abandoned plantations and instead began taking land and farming it for and by themselves (Dupuy 1982; Lundahl, 1983). This was devastating for Haiti economically because it left a wealthy agricultural industry in shambles.

Haitians wanted their independence as much as they fought to be freed from French colonization. However the freedom and independence of the Haitian people has not yet happened given its history of oppression brought on by its own leaders working with foreign powers. This is due to oppression brought on by foreign powers thereby allowing Haiti to become a dependent and not independent nation. Once the first leaders of Haiti realized, for example, how valuable their land was they not only sold the land to foreign interests such as the U.S. and France but also gave away and sold the land to military personnel and the Haitian elite (Lundahl 1983, 30).

In 1806 Gen Jean Jaques Dessaline’s was murdered and Haiti became divided into two nations - the North, which was ruled by King Henri Christophe I and the South ruled by General Alexander Pétion (Girard 2010, 65-6). Each of these men ruled quite uniquely; in the North

Christophe ran a rather liberal socialist government setting up schools and clinics (Clement, 1979) whereas Pétion governed more conservatively and after serving sixteen years as president in 1816 he declared himself president for life (as future ruthless dictators would do) (Gingras 1967, 33). Pétion wanted to win the favors of the United States but met only with opposition from the country (Montague 1966, 49). This opposition from the United States was because the U.S. did not want to open up trade and then see an increase in economic independence for Haiti (Montague, 1966).

Alexander Pétion (1807-1818) sold more than 150,000 hectares to mostly military men and each successive president did the same through the nineteenth century (Mintz 1995, 80; Lundahl 1983, 30). The redistribution of land caused the plantation system to crumble and the peasant system to flourish (Lundahl, 1983). Thus peasants began claiming and squatting on unclaimed land in order to gain and maintain property ownership (Lundahl, 1983). Because Haiti was still under strict embargo by the U.S. and other foreign countries during most of Pétion's presidency they were unable to export. In retrospect this would have been a good time for Haiti to begin looking inward to develop basic infrastructure and become self-sustaining but without support and recognition from foreign powers Haiti was not able to move forward. This was because without a trading partner Haiti's economy could not grow and develop.

Although Haiti was found to be static during the mid nineteenth century as far as world economic growth was concerned it was in a unique and positive position for the first time since its independence. Haiti had internally good agriculture growth and mostly peace within its borders during the early nineteenth century (Mintz 1995). A time when Haiti was "no longer caught between colonial domination and anticolonial resistance but freer to imagine its role in

new geographical and ideological constructs that reach beyond the narrow dualism of dominant and dominated, metropole and colony, center and periphery,” (Dash 2004, 325). In 1820 Jean-Pierre Boyer became the elected president and united Haiti under one rule. It was during Boyer’s presidency that Haiti took on much of its debt and saw most of its newly formed infrastructure crumble. Thus Boyer begins Haiti’s history of dependency.

It is only when Haiti begins to overpopulate³ in the later part of the nineteenth century due to lack of health care, education, and basic infrastructural needs that the land becomes rare and Haiti begins to feel the pull of its poverty and ruling class (Dupuy, 1982). Because the elite ruling class did not understand how to economically survive they raised taxes to make up for lost income, but only the peasants were taxed (Farmer 1988, 87-8). This peasant taxation has a lasting effect on the Haitian population, which lingers into the twentieth century.

To better understand the ruling class one must take into consideration the class structure and formation in the nineteenth century during Haiti’s first century of independence. The new society that emerged in Haiti after their independence “assumed the characteristics of a feudal economy, but with a well-entrenched, relatively self-subsistent peasantry,” (Dupuy 1982, 17). From this Haiti began to structure its class formation based largely upon a peasantry that wanted to be self sustaining and would be stubborn about not giving into a capitalist, wealthy, and elitist society (Dupuy, 1982).

During Jean-Pierre Boyer’s presidency of Haiti he negotiated with France in 1825 and agreed to pay an indemnity of 150 million francs to France for the “damages suffered by its citizens during the War of Independence, and as the price to pay for the recognition of Haiti’s sovereignty and the resumption of trade,” (Dupuy 1982, 26). This kind of money was not lying

around the Haitian government or in its economy; therefore Haiti had to borrow the money from foreign donors. In order to start payments Boyer borrowed 30 million francs from the French government at extremely high interest rates (Gingras 1967, 36). By December of 1916 Haiti was in debt by over 120 million francs (Dupuy 1982, 26) and this is one reason Haiti remains the poorest nation in the western hemisphere.

Not only did Haiti become indebted to many wealthy nations before it could get an economy thriving it also suffered from uprisings amongst the peasants. Uprisings came because the peasants would not willingly accept the “consolidation of landed property by the dominant class passively,” (Dupuy 1982, 21). In other words the peasants did not passively relinquish their land to the wealthy landowners and instead fought diligently to maintain control of their agricultural economy. From 1820 – 1840 the peasants “waged a relentless struggle against the large landowners to gain their independence, to achieve effective ownership over the land, and to control the process of production and appropriation of the surplus product. The effects of this struggle were felt in the entire economy,” (Dupuy 21). The fight over land and power enabled a wealthy elitist ruling class to emerge that did not have the “means of generating and accumulating wealth from within the sphere of production,” (Dupuy 1982, 21) because the peasants displayed a stubbornness against being exploited, this thereby led to peasants gaining more control of the land than the elitist class wanted.

During Boyer’s presidency he tried to force the peasants to work again on the plantations by enacting Code Rural, which denied the peasants the ability to leave the plantation land, go into towns, or start their own business, as is clearly stated in *The Rural Code of Haiti (1827)*:

The Code begins (Article 1), That all person, excepting soldiers, and civil servants

of the State, professional persons, artisans, and domestic servants, shall cultivate the soil. The next clause (Article 4), forbids the inhabitants of the country quitting it to dwell in towns or villages; and every kind of wholesale or retail trade is forbidden (Article 7). (Rural Code 1827, viii)

Eventually Boyer's dictatorship led to a mass corrupt army that constantly preyed upon the peasants or rural class and this in turn led to an uprising in 1843 that forced Boyer to exile from Haiti (Trouillot 1990, 49), this also led to a model for homegrown paramilitary regimes. Boyer's presidency is the echo of a future dictator, François Duvalier, and both regimes were "alike in their empiric methods and in their disregard of human dignity," (Gingras 1967, 37). Boyer also imprisoned his opposition, journalists, and any officials suspected of liberalism (Gingras 1967, 37) just as the Duvalier regime would do.

The indemnity Boyer agreed to pay France was the first of many debts the Haitians became entangled in and unlike other successfully won independent nations Haiti was invaded many times to "force compensation" from the Haitian government for debts owed (Dupuy 1982, 27). This type of invasion began with the United States in 1850 when they sent in warships to demand a compensation of \$1million (for debts owed) and this was followed by Germany in 1872, which "sent two warships to impose the payment of 15,000 marks for damages allegedly suffered by two German merchants. In 1877 England demanded payment of £682,000 to an English merchant," (Dupuy 1982, 27). However one of the most drastic invasions against Haiti was the occupation of Haiti by the United States from 1915-1934. This occupation was devastating to Haiti because it lost its sovereignty and became a protectorate of the United States (Millspaugh, 1931; Farmer, 2006; Trouillot, 1990; Montague, 1966). One of the first

undertakings of the U.S. was to transfer the entire monetary stock of the Haitian National Bank, founded in 1880, to the National City Bank, which was set up in Haiti by the United States (Dupuy 1982, 27). This wiped out Haiti's economic and monetary infrastructure and created a nation of dependency.

During the nineteenth century Haiti survived under the subordination of foreign capitalist countries such as the United States and France. Haiti exported most of their agricultural goods to these countries and thereby imported its food commodities (Dupuy 1982, 28). This left Haiti in the middle of a capitalist wheel it could not escape.

After Boyer was overthrown in 1843 Haiti began its unstable governmental control. Between 1843-1915 there were 22 presidents and numerous invasions from foreign nations (Dupuy, 1982;). Haiti became an unstable, violent country during the last part of the nineteenth century and up until the U.S. occupation of 1915, witnessing tumultuous uprisings from the Haitian population that brought down entire administrations and regimes. After Boyer was overthrown Haiti was unable to maintain a president long enough to enact policies that would have benefited the Haitian people. During this period one of the most influential presidents was Lysius Salomon (1879-1888). Salomon revived agriculture to a limited degree, attracted some foreign capital, established a national bank, linked Haiti to the outside world through the telegraph, and made minor improvements in the education system (Girard 2010, 79). However after his time in office all of Salomon's good endeavors would be dismantled by either foreign powers or by a mob of angry Haitians.

At the end of the nineteenth century Haiti had been drained of roughly US\$2.5 million to foreign entities due to invasion and forceful taking of debts and loans (Farmer 1988, 88).

Thereby at the end of the century eighty percent of Haiti's national revenue was allocated to their debt payment (Farmer 1988, 88). This economic and political instability led Haiti down a violent road. Economically by the end of the first century of Haitian independence their history was already paved in dependency. The politicians of Haiti had continuously been of an unjust and violent nature and this led to violent, corrupt, and oppressive events and dictators of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The arrival of the twentieth century in Haiti was one of political and governmental unrest. After Salomon relinquished power in 1888 Haiti went through eleven presidents, seven of these presidents were between the years 1911-1915 (Girard 2010, 76-9). In 1915 president Vilbrun Guillaume Sam executed 167 prisoners and was then dragged through the streets and torn to pieces by an angry Haitian mob (Millsbaugh 1931, 35). The mob ran through the streets parading the head and dismembered body parts of the late Sam (Millsbaugh 1931, 35).

This political instability as well as other interests were the reasons the United States then invaded Haiti in 1915 and stayed until 1934. Other reasons for the U.S.'s invasion were fears of a German naval base, and debts owed to the U.S. by Haiti (Mintz, 1995; Farmer, 2006). Haiti has a history of violence and it is hard to break a history of violence. It was because of their violent past that the U.S. took a protectorate role over Haiti and implemented their own governance during their occupation (Suggs 70). It is also the reason Haiti remains in a dependent state to this day. Had Haiti been able to create a nation out of peaceful alliances it is more likely it would have had better economic growth through trade. However, this is still questionable because the peaceful alliances Haiti would have needed to create said economic growth would have been with the very same wealthy nations who were embargoing, invading and unwilling to recognize

it as a state.

The United States' initial occupation from 1915-1934 is of great significance to Haitian history and its unending relationship with the U.S. The U.S. invaded Haiti to dismantle a violent murderous mob but also to secure the ports of Haiti so Germany would not gain control and set up naval submarine bases, as they feared would happen (Suggs 2002, 70). Historically the United States intervenes in foreign affairs when its security is at risk or if its interests in the contending country are at risk. Therefore Haiti was of interest to the U.S. if for no other reason than Haiti owed the United States money. Prior to the U.S. invasion it played a con game with Haiti by supplying 45% of Haiti's imports during the nineteenth century (Trouillot 1990, 53) and this was only to increase over the next century. The United States also loaned Haiti money with 60-70% interest rates (Trouillot 1990, 53-4). When the U.S. invaded in 1915 it saw a country with monetary value in Haiti's ports and agricultural systems.

This occupation of Haiti reduced its sovereignty to "a scrap of paper" (Suggs 80) and Haiti has never truly regained its sovereignty back. The U.S. invaded Haiti in July of 1915 and by August Haiti had a new president, Phillippe Sudre Dartiguenave, put into power by the U.S. government. Then in September of 1915 the new president signed a treaty with the United States declaring Haiti as a protectorate of the U.S. (Suggs 2002, 71). The U.S. promised to improve Haiti's infrastructure and aid in building roads, schools, and housing for the Haitians during their occupation (Millspaugh 1931, 91-4; Montague 1966, ch. 14). Nevertheless the road to improved infrastructure in Haiti was harder for the United States to rebuild than it expected. Even though the U.S. did begin to rebuild the Haitian infrastructure it was not successful because the U.S. forced Haitians into working by enacting code rural (Millspaugh, 1931; Farmer 1988; Mintz,

1995), the U.S. set up camps in Haitian universities (Hallward 2010, 14), and in the end the U.S. marines fought against Haitians in guerrilla warfare (Trouillot, 1990; Millspaugh, 1931; Montague, 1966). Philippe Girard argues that the U.S. failed in their initial occupation because political reform was not a central reform and the racism that pervaded American culture, society, and way of thinking was ever present in the way the U.S. dealt with Haiti and this in turn hindered the success of rebuilding Haiti (Girard 2010, 93-6).

Once the U.S. invaded Haiti, replaced their president, and took a protectorate role upon the country it also suspended free elections from 1916-1930 (Millspaugh 1931, 2). In 1922 Louis Borno replaced Dartiguenave as president and served a full term of seven years until 1930 and had an intimate relationship with the United States (Millspaugh, 1931,). When the U.S. invaded Haiti in 1915 roughly 95% to 98% of Haitians were still illiterate (Millspaugh 1931, 14). Therefore when the U.S. invaded it promised it would build schools and education however the schools, which were built during the U.S. occupation were aimed at elite children and families and the peasants continued to remain illiterate and uneducated (Girard 2010, 91-2).

Haiti did not have the international support of the international community to advance itself; instead it was oppressed by the international community through being occupied, invaded, paying prolonged indemnities for freedom, collecting of heightening debts and being forced to fight constant opposition from all sides of the foreign community; this was exacerbated by Haitians' own corrupt political and social history; in the hundred years since their independence Haiti never had a government free of dictators who did not throw out constitutional and statute law (Millspaugh 1931, 13). The rulers of Haiti were only concerned with their own interests and those of foreign nations, thus advancing foreign interests but never Haiti's internal infrastructure.

Hence Haiti was invaded by the United States to protect U.S. interests. Once in occupation the U.S. tried to implement their officers of the marines into Haitian political offices, but found it was not easy due to U.S. statute laws (Millspaugh 59). Even though it proved difficult the U. S. did place men who would uphold American interests in Haiti's political infrastructure (Millspaugh, 1931; Girard, 2010). This was felt most with the military takeover of the United States. In 1915 the U.S. enacted martial law upon Haiti with "a fifteen-hundred-strong Haitian constabulary called the *gendarmerie* . . . all its officers were white and American. The United States now held a monopoly on violence," (Girard 2010, 84). The United States was able to place officials in positions of power in five sectors: the *gendarmerie*, customs, finances, public health, and infrastructures (Girard 2010, 85), thus taking control of Haiti's economy, diplomacy, social welfare, and enforcing a constant police state.

In order to rebuild roads, bridges, and airfields the United States decided to enact an old 1826 rural code in 1916 (Farmer 1988, 89) known as the *corvée*; this required the men of each district to work a certain number of days and hours on a road in their district (Millspaugh 1931, 88). This was enacted because there were not enough monetary funds available to pay for the materials for roads and for the labor involved. At first this was good but the *corvée* went too far and in some places the men worked outside their district, for long hours, and more than the legal number of days (Millspaugh 89). In other words the peasants were conscripted into working (Mintz 1995, 84), which was a reflection of slavery. The *corvée* code continued until 1922 (Girard 2010, 86). This amounted to what appeared to be slavery for the Haitians and they would not stand for such conditions. Rebels formed called *cacos* because they came from the *caco* region and they began to arm themselves against the U.S. marines. In 1919 there were many

armed assaults by the United States against the Haitian rebels resulting in thousands of Haitian casualties estimated at 2,200 and yet “the Americans were angered and hurt by the apparent unwillingness of the Haitians to accept a North American conception of what was desirable and good,” (Mintz 1995, 84).

The U.S. said they could not withdraw troops at this time, between 1919-1922, because of the fighting. This typified the actions the U.S. took against Haiti during their occupation and the Haitian’s reactions to these perceived violations against their rights as people. This violent reaction was only to be expected from a country that had been fighting for over a century to be recognized as a sovereign nation. Each wealthy country had placed embargoes or indemnities upon a nation that must pay these fees in order to begin their own global economy. However because these debts were of great magnitude the small nation of Haiti was never been able to recover its economy. It took another fifteen years for the U.S. to withdraw their troops and let go of Haiti as a protectorate state.

In 1922 at the end Dartiguenave’s time in office, Louis Borno was “elected” president with help from the United States; Borno was in favor of occupation thus an intimate relationship between Borno and the U.S. was born (Suggs 2002, 73). Borno was president for seven years and maintained a close relationship with the United States until his term ended. During his presidency Haiti saw relative peace and economic prosperity with help from the United States. Yet, this peace came at a price with martial law and ever growing racial tensions between the U.S. marines and the indigenous Haitians due in large part to racist policies from the United States (Girard, 2010; Mintz, 1995).

At this time in American history, 1915-1934, the United States still practiced a

segregated society and racial inequalities were persistent and common in the U.S. The racist policies, laws, and diplomacy the United States operated under were prevalent in Haiti as well and the Haitians were well aware of their inequalities as a nation of black and mulatto people (Girard 2010; Trouillot 1990; Mintz 1995). In Haiti mulattoes were mixed race and often of the middle and elitist classes and therefore the ones typically in power (Girard 2010, 62-4). In Haiti mulattoes kept the black peasants segregated and often oppressed; however the Americans did not distinguish mulattoes from their darker skinned countryman: “all Haitians were black” (Girard 2010, 90). All of the presidents that served under the U.S. occupation and who were implemented into position by the United States were lighter skinned mulatto men. Since 90% of the population were black people, 90% of the population was therefor unrepresented and came last in the eyes of the U.S. “Haiti under U.S. occupation thus came to mirror colonial Saint-Domingue,” (Girard 2010, 90). This paved the way for the *noirisme*, “a racial ideology purporting to promote pride in Haiti’s African roots” (Sprague 2012, 32), a movement François Duvalier spurred.

The other price the peasants had to pay were high taxes. During the beginning tenure of Borno the U.S. loaned Haiti US\$40 million to pay off debts and fund schools (Farmer 1988, 89). These loans came from the National City Bank, the same bank that all of the Haitian National Bank stocks were transferred to during the initial invasion in 1915. Needless to say the people of Haiti never saw this money. The peasants were highly taxed because they are the ones that produced the agricultural goods which were Haiti’s largest export; for example from 1909-1910 ninety-five percent of all taxes came from coffee (Farmer 1988, 88); in other words peasants were taxed for the work they performed and what little money they made went toward imported

food because it was cheaper than locally grown agriculture. This became a tradition amongst the politicians in Haiti, taxing the peasants.

Therefore in October of 1929 when strikes broke out at the Service Technique's Central Agricultural College at Damien (Suggs 2002, 75), which in turn led to protests amongst Haitians against U.S. rule and occupation, it came as of no real surprise. The Cayes Harbor Massacre of Haitians by U.S. marines on 6 December 1929 ended with five Haitians killed and twenty wounded (Suggs 2002, 75). This eventually led to the end of the United States' invasion and occupation of Haiti. However it was not until 1934 that all of the United States' troops were withdrawn. Although scholars such as Paul Farmer agree that after the occupation Haiti was not better off but more dependent:

The country was heavily indebted, not to the French, but to the North Americans it was still straddled with the 1922 loan - at \$ 40,000,000, a record even for loan-happy Haiti - and, as even Colonel and Mrs. Heintz will admit, both the "national" treasury and the Banque Nationale were owned by a New York bank. What is worse, the national treasury was even more dependent on customs duties, on coffee especially, than before the Occupation. In other words, the wealth of the State was even more dependent on the extraction of a surplus from peasant Production. (Farmer 1988; 89)

During its occupation the U.S. recognized the problems that needed to be fixed such as the Haitian judiciary, electoral, economic, health and educational systems, but little was actually done about these issues while occupying Haiti. Much of Haiti's problems could be fixed with money and money well spent, but their debt kept them from being able to put money back into

their economic system and social infrastructure, this along with extreme corruption within the political and military infrastructure. Because of American policies on race, violence, and occupation Haiti was ripe for a nationalist dictator to take power.

After the U.S.'s occupation of Haiti the country saw some of its worst moments in history. Twenty years after the occupation by the U.S., François Duvalier a brutal, violent, and criminal dictator would garrison control over Haiti. François Duvalier, known as Papa Doc, ruled from 1957 committing murder, torture, and rape against his own people until 1971 when he relinquished power to his son Jean-Claude Duvalier who in turn continued his father's oppressive rule until 1986. This period in Haitian history is inhuman and must be studied in order to allow Haiti to understand an oppression that led to its dependency.

Duvalier retained the nickname Papa Doc because he was a doctor for the people before he became a callous dictator (Girard 2010; Gingras 1967). However when he became president he committed crimes against these same people all in order to sustain power and wealth. Shortly after Duvalier took office in 1957 he set up his own paramilitary regime known as the Tontons Macoutes (Girard 2010; Trouillot 1990; Hallward 2010). He did not destroy the military but they began to lose power as the Tontons Macoutes gained power (Aponte CoHA 2010). This paramilitary regime reported only to Duvalier. The Tontons Macoutes were not held accountable for the murders and abuses they committed; they were granted immunity from such crimes under Duvalier (Sprague 2012; Girard 2010). The Tontons Macoutes would maintain power and control under both Papa Doc and Baby Doc Duvalier. This paramilitary organization does not disappear from history but evolves and transforms and can still be seen and felt in Haiti today.

During Papa Doc's rule approximately 40,000 people were executed in his paranoia

against opposition organizers and dissidents all in order to maintain his absolute authority (Hallward 2010, 15; Sprague 2012, 34). When he died in 1971 he left supreme power to his nineteen-year old son Jean-Claude Duvalier, Baby Doc, who became more brutal and corrupt than his father. Haiti thus spent thirty years under a regime that enabled for the poor to become poorer and for the wealthy such as Duvalier and his entourage along with outside foreign interests to become extremely wealthy. The wealth accumulated by the Duvaliers came mostly off of the exploitation of the Haitian poor by using them to receive international and humanitarian aid mostly from the United States (Hallward 2010, 15). The U.S. maintained close ties with Baby Doc and received “minimal taxes, a virtual ban on all trade unions, the preservation of starvation wages, the removal of any restrictions on the repatriation of profits” (Hallward 2010, 15) for the aid it provided to Haiti. When Baby Doc was exiled from Haiti on 7 February 1986, sixteen years after he took power, it was later found he had stolen over US\$500 million from the Haitian public treasury (Sprague 2012, 39). By the end of both brutal Duvalier dictatorships an estimated 50,000 Haitians had lost their lives (Aponte CoHA 2010; Hallward 2010, 15; Sprague 2012, 34).

The Duvalier regimes were oppressive to Haitians because they did not use international aid money to benefit Haitians or Haitian infrastructure. The two dictators rather shriveled education, health care, housing, and peasant economy or jobs and instead expanded the military and their own powers. The Duvaliers expanded the president’s powers and term limits (by making the term limits limitless) and they ran a fowl with aid from foreign donors and money that was made in industries such as tobacco and coffee (Girard 2010; Abbott 1991). The lack of care for the Haitian people by their dictators has been seen by Haitians to be a violation of their

human rights and there have been recent efforts to bring Jean-Claude to trial for crimes against humanity⁴ and this has had a direct role in making Haiti dependent.

The United States has played an intricate role in the affairs of both Duvaliers along with the formation of Haiti as a whole. This relationship was devastating for the Haitian people as will be explored in greater depth later. For now it must be noted that the U.S. turned a blind eye to many of the human rights violations being committed during the Baby Doc Duvalier reign and seemed “far more interested in supporting a pro-American tyrant whose purported task was to stop the spread of communism in the region, rather than protecting the Haitian people by supporting a healthy democracy and a responsible authority in Port-au-Prince,” (Aponte CoHA 2010). As is documented the United States helped Baby Doc exile to France in 1986 (Sprague 2012, 39; Gwertzman, 1986).

Once rioting and protesting became a threat at the end of Jean-Claude Duvalier’s reign the U.S. pulled aid from Haiti, but this came at a time of great instability and pressure from foreign powers. Jean-Claude felt pressures from foreign powers to leave Haiti and fearing for his own security because of mass protests he fled with the help of the United States; as the New York Times reported on 8 February 1986, “Mr. Duvalier and his family and associates were flown to France from Haiti early this morning aboard a United States Air Force C-141,” (Gwertzman 1986). The U.S. was gaining and advancing their position within the Caribbean at the sake of the Haitian people. As Farmer is quoted saying earlier, the United States owned the banks of Haiti and had loaned the country millions of dollars; thus the interests of the United States were in the return of their money and not for the welfare and rights of the Haitian people.

After the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship Haiti again battled with corrupt presidents,

politicians, militaries, and a failing democratic system. From 1986 until 1990 when Father Jean Bertrand Aristide was for the first time in Haitian history democratically elected into the presidency the country again went through many leaders. This time five people were in positions of presidency between the time Aristide was elected in 1991 and the time Duvalier fled the country in 1986 (Girard 2010, 117). The U.S. promised millions of dollars in aid to Haiti after the fall of Baby Doc Duvalier but Haiti seldom saw the aid and instead remained straddled down with previous loans from the U.S. It is at this time that the United States took a stronger role in Haiti's politics because its interests were once again at stake. During the Duvalier regimes the number of U.S. corporations in Haiti grew from seven to over 300 (Sprague 2012, 32; Hallward 2010, 15).

The interests of the United States in Haiti have been monetary and military. During the Duvalier dynasty between 1950 – 1970 “the United States provided an estimated US\$3.4 million in military aid and training for 610 Haitians,” (Sprague 2012, 38). This along with the hundreds of corporations in Haiti using cheap labor made Haiti a place of interest for the United States. After the fall of Baby Doc Haiti in 1986 Haiti saw a grassroots movement form known as the Fammi Lavalas (FL) party led by a young priest named Jean-Bertrand Aristide (Farmer 2006, 102-20).

Aristide practiced Liberation Theology, which is “an interpretation of the Christian gospel from the experience and perspectives and lives of people who are at the bottom in society -- the lowest economic and racial groups,” (Oppenheimer 2012). Anthropologist Paul Farmer describes Aristide as:

devoted to the poor. His political inspiration comes not from any manifesto or

existing political system, but from the Bible and from theological documents elaborated in Puebla and Medellín – the wellsprings of liberation theology – as he has openly noted in his sermons. (2006, 113)

However this pitch did not bode well with people who had invested interests in oppressing the poor or with eliminating communism such as the U.S. To the U.S. liberation theology represented communism and this went against the policies of the U.S. administration. Members of the Reagan administration “declared liberation theology less Christian than Communis[m] and recommended that ‘U.S. policy must begin to counter (not react against)..., the 'liberation theology' clergy’” (Farmer 2004, 15-6). Thus began the United States’ assault upon the Haitian Aristide democratic system.

The United States would begin to try and undermine the Aristide campaign and his Fanmi Lavalas (FL) party but this would prove unsuccessful (Chomsky, 1994). As Chomsky argues, “The US was willing to support a democratic election, figuring [their] candidate, a former World Bank official named Marc Bazin, would easily win,” (Chomsky 1994, 183). However this did not happen and Aristide won by a landslide; he received sixty-seven percent of the vote whereas Bazin, the US backed candidate, received only fourteen percent (Chomsky 1994, 184; Ragen 1994, 33). This was a win for democracy in Haiti but with help from the United States it was taken away on 30 September 1991 (Hallward 2010, 40-2, 48; Chomsky 1994, 184-5; Sprague 2012, ch 2).

Though the U.S. was unsuccessful in deferring true democracy in the 1990 elections they did prove successful in supporting a coup led by the FAd’H (Forces Armees d’Haiti: the Haitian army implemented and modernized by the U.S. during their initial invasion in 1915-1934)

(Hallward 2010, 40-2; Sprague 2012, ch 2) in retaliation of Aristide winning the election after a mere seven months in office “with CIA foreknowledge and with intelligence personnel actually present in the army headquarters as it happened, Aristide was overthrown in a bloody putsh,” (Ragen 1994, 33); the putsh was led by General Raoul Cédres whom Aristide had promoted to chief of armed forces.

The coup happened after the United States tried weakening the new democratic government in any way they could: the CIA had perfected its secret police; the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) had aligned itself with elite business groups to undercut Aristide’s proposed minimum wage increase; and the Pentagon had maintained close ties to the Haitian military/army (Ragen 1994, 33). The U.S. helped the FAd’H to organize the FRAPH (Front Révolutionnaire Pour l’Avancement et le Progrès Haïtiens) by supplying weapons, ammunition, and funding for the paramilitary organization (Hallward 2010, 42-5). This paramilitary group will be dissected in Chapter IV but for now it is important to note historically how they formed.

The FAd’H and FRAPH openly reined terror on Haitians for three years under the command of Raoul Cédres and Jodel Chamberlain (Hallward 2010, ch 2); the FRAPH were known as Haitian death squads. This paramilitary organization gained enormous power after Aristide’s fall in 1991 and killed thousand of pro-Aristide supporters and FL members (Hallward 2010, ch 2; Sprague 2012, ch 2).

Aristide lived in Washington D.C. after he was ousted in 1991 and during this time he pleaded with the United States’ government to help with the situation in Haiti and with the removal of the FAd’H and FRAPH (Hallward 2010, ch 2). However this was met with

ambivalence and it was not until the violence in Haiti peaked in 1994 that the new Clinton administration took military action (Sprague 2012; Hallward 2010; Girard 2010).

Therefore in September of 1994 the Clinton administration deployed 20,000 troops into Haiti and re-instated Aristide as president (Hallward 2010, 52-3; Sprague 2012, 79). The first action Aristide took as president was to dismantle the army/military/paramilitaries. Nonetheless FRAPH went underground along with the FAd'H and continued to organize and sustain fear among Haitians only to later re-emerge in 2002 as the FLRN (Front pour la Libération et la Reconstruction Nationale) an anti-Aristide insurgency force led by Jodel Chamberlain and Guy Phillipe (Hallward 2010, xvi). The reinstatement of Aristide in 1994 came with heavy concessions. In order for Aristide to receive the much needed US\$770 million loan he compromised much: the perpetrators of the coup received an unconditional pardon; Aristide had to form a coalition government with his opposition; tariffs were drastically reduced; wages frozen; half of the civil service was laid off; and all of Haiti's public utilities, telephone, electricity, port, airport, cement, flour, a cooking oil plant, and two state banks were sold off (Hallward 2010, 49-56).

Haiti again was occupied but this time by both the United States and the United Nations from 1994 – 2000. Over the course of the next six years these two foreign powers began to withdraw their troops, however the U.N. never fully left the country and continues a strong military presence to this day. During this occupation Haiti again lost sovereignty because the occupation gave profound power to the occupying power (U.S. and U.N.) and “temporarily irreversible influence over the reconfiguration of a state apparatus more compatible with its own priorities,” (Hallward 2010, 52).

As troops withdrew there was a plethora of “para-civilian advisors, trainers and consultants” who remained behind to “administer the consequences of their work – and to prepare the ground for future doses of humanitarian intervention which has come to replace traditional forms of military action as the primary means of neo-imperial control,” (Hallward 2010, 52). Yet most of the US\$770 million that Aristide fought for went straight to “pro-elite, pro-US, pro-business private sector groups whose political opposition to Lavalas was already explicit,” (Hallward 2010, 60). These actions deepened Haiti’s dependency upon aid and foreign intervention because it undermined the Haitian government and grassroots organizations and instilled dependency on international aid for basic human necessities such as health care, education, and security.

In 1996 Aristide’s first term as president was to expire and he was going to be replaced; however his supporters and the FL party wanted Aristide in office for another three years in reparation of the three years that had been usurped from him by the coup. The international community did not want this and came to an agreement with Aristide that his prime minister René Préval would succeed him until 1999 at which time another election was held (Hallward, 2010).

In 2000 Aristide with his FL party was again overwhelmingly elected into power with sixty-seven percent of the population voting (Hallward 2010, 77). It was at this time in Haitian history that democracy was a force to be reckoned with because the 2000 FL party was an organized and structured party unlike the party of 1990 that was a grassroots party made up of peasant organizers (Hallward 2010, 76-81). This proved disastrous for the elites in Haiti and the foreign powers who could not then keep taking what they wanted from the Haitian peasants or

the government (Hallward 2010, ch 3). Therefore between 2000 and 2004 the elites with the help of foreign powers such as the U.S., the U.N., the World bank, and the IMF (International Monetary Fund) began to undermine the Aristide administration and instead support, fund, and boost up the FRAPH, which had been underground since 1994 (Hallward 2010, ch 4).

The international community again placed embargoes on Haiti claiming the elections were fraudulent and this put an end to all foreign aid (Hallward 2010, 76-81). In 2001 the U.S. “blocked the release of \$145 million in previously agreed loans from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and of another \$470 million scheduled for the following years,” (Hallward 2010, 82). This debilitated Haiti because it was and is completely dependent upon these loans to survive and rebuild and the international community was well aware of this dependency and took advantage of Haiti’s dependency (Hallward, 2010; Sprague, 2012). Striking at and attacking Haiti’s economy was how the international community undermined Aristide’s administration and “few governments could survive such sustained financial assault,” (Hallward 2010, 83).

Thereby in 2004 president Aristide was overthrown in another coup d’état that resulted in the U.N. and the U.S. setting up military occupation in Haiti once again (this coup will be discussed in Chapter Four under the coup d’état and paramilitary heading). This occupation ironically happened in the anniversary year of Haiti’s bicentennial celebration for their independence. The U.N. began their stabilization mission in June of 2004 that entailed installing foreign ‘peacekeeping’ troops known as the Minustah into every corner of Haiti (un.org). Today there are over 12,000 Minustah troops in Haiti and the U.N does not have plans to withdraw until 2016 (un.org). This peacekeeping force (an oxymoron) has underscored democracy and

implemented fear and terror on the island of Haiti as will be discussed. The U.N.'s Minustah force has effectively worked to keep Haiti dependent.

The United States has entangled itself in the affairs of Haitians and this has had drastic and long lasting effects for the Haitian peasants due to the U.S.'s economic interests and imperialistic agenda. Haiti's FL party was in the way of the U.S. achieving these goals; therefore with international help the FL party was again broken and targeted in mass killings during the coup of 2004 (Hallward, 2010; Sprague, 2012). Today the Minustah and the U.S. forces are in Haiti to force Haitians to accept the end of the Fanmi Lavalas party and they have done this in such ways as banning the FL party from participating in the 2006, 2009, and 2010 elections (Hallward, 2010). The 2006 election elected Préval for a second time in office with the underground help of the FL party (Hallward 2010, 302-4). Since the international community banned the FL party in 2004 the FL had to organize and work in secrecy to put Préval into power in 2006 (Hallward 2010, 304). Again Préval's election came as a surprise to the opposition and the international community because he won the election with sweeping numbers, 51% of the vote was what the media was told but most independent reports have Preval winning 62 – 70% of the vote (Hallward 2010, 302). This demonstrates that Haitians want democracy and are able to band and organize to accomplish such democracy, however the international community has undermined such democracy at every level and stolen it from the Haitians.

The United States boasts about promoting democracy all over the world and yet when democracy is found in Haiti, a deprived, poor, ravished nation, it is squashed by the same foreign powers promoting such democracy. Even funding by the US and other countries of humanitarian aid and the work of NGOs only serves to keep Haiti dependent on the international world.

Further, only eighteen percent of the aid promised to Haiti since the 2010 earthquake has been actually received by Haiti (Johnson 2011) while millions of Haitians are starving and dying of curable diseases. For instance the U.N. will only fund one percent of a cholera vaccine project but it will spend US\$648 million for one years cost to keep Minustah in Haiti (Ivers 2013).

The U.S. has regularly pointed to its offering of aid, as part of its diplomatic relations with Haiti. It is true that the U.S. has over the course of history released aid to Haiti but it has always been with strict stipulations and has rarely gone to the betterment of the Haitian people. It was during this critical relief program from 1994-2000 when the U.S. brought in troops and the U.N. brought in troops to help restore power that things for Haiti appeared to be changing. Yet once again Haitian democracy was met in 2004 with a violent and terrifying military coup that was supported and then taken over by the U.S. and the U.N. It appears at times that Haiti will never be able to end its dependency when Haitians are up against world powers that continue to keep them dependent.

Then on 12 January 2012 Haiti fell victim to one of the worst earthquake disasters known to mankind. With over 300,000 Haitians dead and seventy percent of their infrastructure in ruins Haiti once again succumbed to international aid, occupation, and control (Hallward 2010, 317). Subsequently more than two million Haitian's became homeless and were left to live in makeshift tent cities and three years after the earthquake more than 400,000 are still homeless (Marion 2013). Haiti must rebuild its infrastructure in order to survive. Haitians have preserved long enough without proper health, education, and security infrastructure and they are in dire need of stability and sovereignty. However, given the long history and negative impacts of Haiti's previous relations with foreign interests, these tasks cannot be accomplished with the

oversight of foreign intervention. Haiti must free itself once again from global imperialism and take back their autonomy. Haiti's infrastructure must be built in order to become a self-sustaining country.

The following chapters will look in depth at the different infrastructures in Haiti, which either are lacking, in need of repair, or are being repaired but in need of more help. Each of these sections focuses on forms of dependency and why the Haitian people have been dependent upon foreign aid and leadership. One thing to keep in mind is that in order to be dependent upon something or someone one must receive something; for example Haiti is dependent on foreign aid and occupation because they need the money for reconstruction and basic human welfare. Haiti however has never truly received financial aid and foreign money because the money often went directly to private sectors of NGOs and humanitarian aid and not bilaterally to the Haitian government (Delgado 2012). When aid was received by the government it was typically usurped by the dictators ruling and therefore never of use to bettering the Haitian people. Haitians have a worse lot than just being dependent; they are reliant on the prospect of receiving dependency money, in other words they are dependent upon being dependent.

First the focus will be on the Haitian health and welfare of the people. This is important because health care is a basic human right that Haitians have not had the privilege to experience. The health care infrastructure helps create stability, education, and progress, which Haiti is desperate to acquire. I am including deforestation within this section as well because the health of the environment is crucial to the development of human health care as well as Haiti's vulnerability to such natural disasters as earthquakes.

The paper will then move onto the other broken infrastructures of Haiti, such as their

education and economic system. The subsequent section rigorously examines the Haitian paramilitary, political, criminal, and governmental infrastructures. This is vital to understanding Haiti and how Haiti can overcome its dependency because Haiti's paramilitary forces have ruled, oppressed, and undermined the majority of the Haitian population since 1957. The conclusion will then examine how all of these infrastructures are connected and come together to form a sustainable and sovereign country. The conclusion will not only examine the internal strengths and resources from which Haiti can draw, but also look at benefits from the outside, including loopholes or ways in which Haitians can turn around and extend elements of foreign occupation that historically had only been extracted from Haiti.

CHAPTER III

HEALTH CARE, DISEASE, AND THE FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL

*Pa gen lape nan tet, si pa gen lape nan vant.
There is no peace in the head, if there is no peace in the stomach. – Haitian Proverb*

The health and wellbeing of a country are important to the structure of a good economy. A stable economy must have healthy, happy, and productive workers to produce money. Health care is a human right and should not be a privilege as is the case in poverty stricken Haiti. Since Haiti's formation it has been subjected to diseases and sicknesses, along with climate change, deforestation, natural disasters and oppressive governments and dictators. All of these factors play into Haiti's health infrastructure and each have a role in fixing and improving its dilapidated health system.

General Health Care and History of Disease

The diseases that ravage the nation of Haiti now are also problems of systemic poverty and a health infrastructure that has been virtually non-existent. However Haiti's struggles with disease and basic health care has been an issue since the revolution of Haiti. In this section Dr. Paul Farmer will be helpful in dissecting the issue of health, health care, disease, poverty, and inequalities because he has been providing health care to Haitians since the 1990's. In his 2012 report he notes that during the Haitian Revolution not only did the French encounter a slave uprising but also "yellow fever, malaria, and other 'tropical' scourges, as had Christopher Columbus," (Farmer 2012, 7). Haiti is the birthplace of modern tropical medicine (Farmer 2012)

and it is this practice of tropical medicine in these post-colonial nations such as Haiti that keeps Haiti alive. Farmer has been practicing tropical medicine and humanitarian health intervention in Haiti since the 1990's (Kidder 2004).

Along with diseases such as HIV/AIDS and TB, which have been endemic to Haiti since the 1960's, Haiti has struggled with yaws, a bacterial skin disease affecting the skin and bones of mainly children fifteen years of age and younger who live in rural poverty stricken areas of the tropics (who.int). In the 1950's there was a World Health Organization initiative against yaws and Haiti was a country that was targeted. François Duvalier was placed in a charge of leading the eradication of yaws from Haiti before he became a brutal totalitarian dictator.

Duvalier was Haiti's Minister of Health and Labor under the administration of President Dumarsais Estimé from 1950-1954 (Encyclopedia of World Biography). Three years after his job as the Minister of Health and Labor he was elected to the Presidency. During the Duvalier dictatorships (1957-1986) the only health facility in Cite Soleil was a private health organization known as the Center for Development and Health (CDS), which was run by a Dr. Reginald Boulos beginning in the 1970's (Rohter 1996). There was one hospital and three clinics run by the CDS in Cite Soleil and all were funded by USAID (McFayden 1994, 5). Boulos made a fortune from these health facilities beginning during Baby Doc Duvalier's reign and ending after the second occupation by the U.S. He was known to hire former Tonton Macoutes to work in his hospitals and he was knowingly in the pockets of the FAd'H and then the FRAPH (McFayden 1994, 5).

The United States took a central role in privatizing Haiti's health care by funding Boulos' private health care facilities through USAID (McFayden 1994, 5). The United States

has always been a proponent of privatizing social infrastructures such as education, prisons, and so forth; thus privatizing health care in an impoverished country, as Haiti would prove to be profitable. Another way the U.S. garnered money to the Duvalier dictatorship in the late 1960s was to purchase dead Haitian bodies for research purposes (Aponte CoHA 2010). These bodies were bought from the leader of the Tonton Macoutes, Luckner Cambronne (Aponte CoHA 2010). Luckner was nicknamed the vampire of the Caribbean because of his unique profiteering; he sold corpses and blood of dead Haitians to universities and hospitals in the United States and when there was a lack of bodies, “he did not hesitate to kill innocent people to facilitate the growth of his industry,” (Aponte CoHA 2010). When Baby Doc took power Luckner immigrated to Miami where he lived until his death in 2006 (Aponte CoHA 2010).

Because of Haiti’s history of oppressive governments it has never had a stable health care system. The majority of Haitians live in abject poverty and currently rural poverty is replacing urban poverty where people then become alienated and dislocated (Isbister 2006, 3). The emergence of rural poverty puts a strain on the already overflowing inner cities of Haiti and the lack of health care enables disease and illness to spread through these inner city slums rampantly. Dr. Paul Farmer’s organization Partners In Health (PIH)⁵ will be the role model for the behavior of NGOs working in Haiti. PIH works with both the Haitian government while using international monetary aid to promote and facilitate health care in Haiti. He has been working in both urban and rural Haiti since the 1980’s and in 1987 he co-founded PIH with Ophelia Dahl and Jim Kim, who now heads the World Health Organization (Kidder 2004). Farmer began his social health care service in Haiti and but now this service has spread to many of the most impoverished nations in the world. As Farmer says “ill health is a symptom of poverty” and we

fail to abolish the problem, poverty (Farmer NPR 2009).

PIH is a role model because they work with the Haitian government and communities to provide health care and jobs; ninety-eight percent of the workers employed with PIH are Haitians (pih.org). PIH works with the Haitian Ministry of Health along with foreign ministries to make health care a reality and right for all Haitians. In the aftermath of the devastating earthquake it is hard to find positivity about the state of Haitian health care but researching the work of PIH shows the commitment people have towards creating a positivity. On 28 December 2012 Ban Ki-moon (head of the United Nations) appointed Farmer as “his Special Adviser for Community-based Medicine and Lessons from Haiti,” (UN press release 2012). Perhaps Farmer can make advanced steps toward a sanitation and sewer system for Haitians along with a clear way to fight cholera. Farmer along with PIH has been fighting cholera since it reared its ugly head in Haiti in 2010. This would be in contrast with the U.N. and their reaction towards the cholera endemic, which have been to continuously deny all allegations of involvement in bring cholera to Haiti and infecting the Artibonit River. Even with precise evidence showing they are responsible for the cholera outbreak in Haiti due to improper sanitation practices and improper screening of Mintustah soldiers coming from Nepal (a cholera ravished nation) the U.N. will not admit to any fault (Rosen 2013).

Haiti’s general health care has been nearly non-existent for centuries and without NGO health care facilities Haitians would not have any free health care. Haiti cannot remain reliant on international and humanitarian aid to provide health care and other basic infrastructural needs forever. Haiti's dependence on foreign nations for aid has been particularly problematic since these nations (including the U.S., Canada, France and even the U.N) have in the past supported

coups against their democratic governments. These nations have also allowed for deforestation to take place in Haiti and have even benefited from the exports (Girard 2010, 109-10). The deforestation of Haiti is also linked to the health of the nation because when the earth is sick so are the people. The following is an in depth look at how and why deforestation has happened and also the effects it has had upon the country insofar as health and economics are concerned.

Deforestation

The history of the deforestation of Haiti is brutal. By 1994 ninety to ninety-seven percent of the country was deforested (Worker 1994). The deforestation of Haiti affects Haitian agriculture, the environment, climate and its response to natural disasters. When Columbus landed on the island in 1492 the land was seventy-five percent covered with trees and forests (Worker 1994). It took a century of land disputes and inadequate policies on land distribution along with foreign interests in the logging industry to fully deforest the nation. The negative outcomes of deforestation are great and range from economic to health distress of Haitian peasants. It could be argued that the reason why Haiti has become deforested is not relevant any longer and the only thing that matters is re-forestation. However the reasons for the deforestation rest in the broken infrastructure of Haiti and in their dependency on the very nations responsible for promoting such deforestation.

Only twenty-five percent of Haiti has electricity (worldbank.org) therefore most Haitians use and make charcoal for fuel. Charcoal is made from wood, which rural Haitians have helped to cut down for the charcoal process. As Janeen Interlandi from *Newsweek* reported in 2010, “charcoal trade grew to account for 20 percent of the rural economy and 80 percent of the

country's energy supply. Before long, 98 percent of the country's forests had been chopped down, and Haitians were burning 30 million trees' worth of charcoal annually. Soil eroded, crop yields shrank, and floods became more severe,” (2010, 49).

To start at the beginning of Haiti’s deforestation one must look at the way the land was divided and partitioned after the Haitian Revolution. When Haiti separated into the North and South after the death of Dessalines in 1806 the then two rulers, King Christophe I and Gen. Pétion, each partitioned the land differently. No matter though because the newly freed slaves went mostly into the mountains and hillsides and took sections of land for themselves (Lundahl 1983, 31). The land Pétion and Christophe gave, sold, and partitioned off was for the elite, business, and military classes (Mintz, 1995; Lundahl, 1983). As stated earlier Pétion sold and redistributed over 150,000 hectares of land to military leaders and men (Mintz 1995, 80). Haiti has never had an appropriate way of redistributing the land after their hard won freedom from slavery. Consequently due to ill-defined and insecure property rights (Dolisca 2007, 279) the land became untended to and fell to big agricultural business. This has had a direct effect on the degeneration of the land – as well as on the use of the land for production of exports at the cost of domestic production to feed and sustain the Haitian people themselves.

Also during the nineteenth century Haitians were forced into logging due to the massive debt it incurred by erroneous indemnities from France. So much logging was done in the nineteenth century that by 1940 only thirty percent of the land was forested and by 1970 only ten percent was still forested (McClintock 2010, 2). The last report showed there was less than three percent forested land in Haiti (worldbank.org 2011). This is drastic considering charcoal and firewood provide fuel for cooking and heating and industrial use for eighty-five to ninety percent

of the population (McClintock 2010, 4).

Not only does deforestation affect the economic stability and sustainability of Haiti but also the environmental stability of Haiti. Due to this drastic deforestation the hurricanes, earthquakes, and natural disasters, which strike the island each year have sweeping and long lasting affects on the small nation of Haiti. The land is ripe with erosion and the topsoil has been washed away by rainfall, which are two of the worst outcomes of Haiti's deforestation problem (McClintock 2010). Haiti cannot ecologically sustain itself without the help of its human counterpart. As is the case with all environmental relationships humans play an intricate role. Nathan McCormick did a wonderful case study on the effects of this mass deforestation and created an agroforestry project to tackle the deforestation and erosion problems of Haiti (McClintock 2010).

In this model he argues that the only way to bring back forests, which takes centuries, is for farmers to cultivate the land differently. He also suggests that instead of exotic plants that foreign markets want farmers need to be able to use native species that provide more than just a cash crop (McClintock 2010, 6-7). He notes that when farmers were able to use the native plants they saw an increase in production by thirty to fifty percent (McClintock 2010, 7) and the native plants used had multiple purposes such as the rare oil palm that has a meaty nut one can eat or use its oil for cooking and lubricant or its trunks used for pig troughs (McClintock 2010, 6-7). McClintock's model has the farmer living at the bottom of a hill and as the hill goes up the farmer plants different layers of agriculture; for instance at the bottom near the farmer's house is their home garden, then up the hill from the home garden is fruit trees, then boundary planting and intercropping, then hedgerow cropping, and then woodlots (fodder/fuel trees) and fodder

grasses (McClintock 2010, 7). The succession up the hill enables for better crop growth and retention of water and each layer uses different nutrients from the soil so as to replenish itself (McClintock 2010, 7-8).

McClintock shows that the most widely used agroforestry in Haiti is with the dispersal of shrubs in the hedgerow cropping. Shrubs can be pruned and the pruning can go towards mulching the other crops, which produces organic matter. Organic matter helps prevent erosion, which is one of the largest problems due to deforestation (McClintock 2010, 8). It is with these kinds of ideas that Haiti could turn around their agricultural system. Since the 2010 earthquake that struck Haiti there have been measures to realize foresting programs such as the U.S. Haiti Reforestation Act of 2011 article S. 1023 (“Durbin Introduces Bill” 2011). Within this act it denotes:

S. 1023 would authorize assistance to Haiti to reduce deforestation, increase efforts to restore forest cover, and improve management of natural resources. The bill would set specific targets for those efforts: promote the environmental recovery of 35 percent of Haiti's land area within five years, restore forest cover to at least 10 percent of Haiti within 30 years, and increase agroforestry (the simultaneous production of trees with crops or livestock) cover to more than 25 percent of Haiti within 10 years. CBO estimates that implementing S. 1023 would require appropriations of about \$780 million and have a discretionary cost of about \$460 million over the 2013-2017 period. (The remainder would be spent after 2017). (2011)

However this bill was never been amended and is still waiting another round of revisions

(opencongress.org). The deforestation problem of Haiti will eventually render the Haitian part of the island un-inhabitable. The abject poverty that sweeps over Haiti is a consequence and manipulating factor of deforestation. Curing poverty in Haiti must go hand in hand in correcting the problem of deforestation.

Cholera/TB/AIDS-HIV

Currently the following three illnesses are pervasive in Haiti: Cholera, Tuberculosis (TB), and HIV/AIDS and are affecting the population on a level of pandemic. Due to extreme poverty and a historical neglect from Haiti's government Haitians mortality rate was increasing at alarming rates (worldbank.org) and this was before the introduction of cholera; as of 2012 data the infant mortality rate is fifty-two percent, with female infant mortality rate of forty-eight percent, and male infant mortality rate of fifty-six percent (CIA World Factbook). Haiti's poverty is the consequence of corrupt, oppressive, and xenophobic governments and their regimes. The majority of Haiti's population has been repressed by lack of public health care, which is a human right. Due to this mass corruption within Haitian governments, Haiti's infrastructures have not been built because this was another way for dictators such as the Duvaliers to keep the peasants oppressed and unable to fight back.

Haitians suffer from diseases and illnesses in ways Americans cannot imagine. Most of this is due to Haiti's poverty, but Haiti's poverty is a symptom of its unending oppressive state and lack of basic infrastructures such as health care and education. The international humanitarian community has been implementing aid to Haiti for decades, but due to corruption in the government most of this aid has gone to foreign NGOs and as Noam Chomsky argues aid should go to Haitian popular and grassroots organizations and not to U.S. contractors and foreign

NGOs (Chomsky 2010). The billions of dollars of aid which has been promised to Haiti should benefit the Haitians and not the incoming U.S. contractors and foreign development corporations which furthers Haiti's dependency (Chomsky 2010).

Haiti has existed for two centuries without health care for the majority of the population; consequently health care has become a privilege. Because of the lack of health care critical diseases have such as HIV/AIDS taken hold of the population. The arrival of HIV/AIDS in Haiti was around 1966 and has since become endemic (Gilbert et al 2007, 18566) because health care was and is sparse. Without health care and education people unknowingly spread diseases such as HIV/AIDS.

HIV/AIDS appeared in the United States roughly 12 years before the 1981 recognition of the disease (Gilbert et al 2007, 18566). It was in the 1980's that the U.S. was responsible for the speculation and rumor that Haiti was the cause of HIV/AIDS (Gilbert et al 2007, 18566; Farmer 2006, 191; Katz 2013, 239). In 1983 the CDC listed four possible carriers of AIDS: homosexual men, intravenous drug users, hemophiliacs, and Haitians (Katz 2013, 239). This rumor proved disastrous to Haiti's tourism and overall widespread discrimination. Jim Kim and Paul Farmer argue that on account of the stigmatization about AIDS *coming from* Haiti, AIDS prevention during the 1980s was difficult because Haitians had been psychologically bruised by the discrimination (Farmer 1991).

HIV/AIDS were becoming manageable diseases due to humanitarian organizations and the care they have brought to Haiti. However since the earthquake of 2010 health care has been almost completely unavailable to the Haitian poor because of the widespread destruction to most of Haiti's infrastructure. This is entangled with the rise in sexual assaults committed against

displaced women and children living in tent cities built as shelters after the earthquake (McClelland 2011); diseases such as HIV/AIDS spread and become again another attack on the Haitian people in that environment. Not only does HIV and AIDS spread during this time but other sexually transmitted diseases. This is not to speak of the trauma to one's mental health occurring from sexual acts of violence⁶.

HIV/AIDS are diseases that attack the immune system and weakens a person's ability to ward off sickness on their own. Because HIV/AIDS is rampant in Haiti and affects the immune system it is likely that Haitians suffering from HIV/AIDS will contract tuberculosis. As is the case with HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis (TB) is another deadly disease for Haitians. As for many poverty stricken people TB is clearly linked with HIV/AIDS as GHESKIO, a non-profit agency, shows how the two diseases often coexist within patients because immune compromised individuals are more susceptible to TB infection (gheskio.org 2013). Again since the earthquake the number of cases of TB infected patients has risen since the tent camps erected. These encampments have become breeding grounds for diseases, sexual assault, gang violence, unclean sanitation and water. Haitians cannot sustain themselves in such conditions, which have been prevailing since the earthquake. Because of instability in other parts of the globe (e.g., Syria, Iran, Afghanistan), it would not be surprising to see help being delayed in reaching Haiti and the people suffering there.

One of the main concerns with TB is the multi-drug resistant form of the disease. In other words many TB patients in developing nations have developed a drug resistant form of the disease known as MDR-TB (Ocheretina 2012, 221) and because patients cannot always receive the proper medicine nor proper doses the patients often take what is available. This in turn causes

the TB to build up a resistance to the drugs and the TB becomes more difficult to treat (pih.org). This drug resistant form of TB is found mostly within developing and underdeveloped nations such as Haiti, African countries, Cuba, and Peru (Kidder 2004). Another place diseases spread easily is within the prison system, which will be explored later. Since the quake of 2010 the number of drug resistant TB cases has doubled (gheskio.org 2013). According to the WHO (World Health Organization) TB is the second highest killer amongst Haitians with HIV/AIDS being the first (Urbina 2010). “Normally” Haiti sees 30,000 new cases each year of TB each year (Urbina 2010) but “because the earthquake set off a dangerous diaspora, the situation has gone from bad to worse,” (Urbina 2010).

The combination of HIV and tuberculosis is of great concern to the health care of Haitians (pih.org), because TB is most susceptible to people with a weakened immune system. Since HIV/AIDS attacks the immune system it is hard for Haitians who live in abject poverty with the HIV/AIDS virus to not contract TB. Haiti has the highest rate of TB in the western hemisphere (worldbank.org) and in 1990 19% of the cases were a drug resistant form of TB known as MDR-TB (Ocheretina et al 2012). This has an impact on other countries such as the United States because Haitian migration to the U.S. is enormous. “The World Bank reported that approximately 1 million Haitians, or nearly 10% of Haiti’s resident population, were living abroad in countries that include the Dominican Republic, the Bahamas, the United States of America, Canada, France, and other parts of the francophone world,” (Ocheretina et al 2012, 221). Therefore because of the mass migration to other countries Haitians are bringing their diseases with them and this in turn affects the population of these other countries.

The worst front against Haiti’s health however is the refusal of the U.N. to take

responsibility for bringing the vibrio cholerae strain of cholera into Haiti and contaminating the Artibonite River (Katz 2013; Rosen 2013; Ivers 2013). Haiti cannot shake this disease, because of unclean water, lack of sanitation facilities, and money needed to fix and build these facilities. Therefore Cholera, a bacterial infection that causes diarrhea and dehydration that is spread through the ingestion of fecal contaminated food or drinking water (cdc.gov 2012), has killed over 7,000 lives and infected over 600,000 people (cdc.gov 2012) since October of 2010 and this number continues to rise each day. There is strong evidence to support that cholera had not even been a problem in Haiti during the nineteenth century when it was making its way around the Caribbean nations in the nineteenth century because unlike all other Caribbean islands in the nineteenth century Haiti was no longer involved in the slave economy (Jenson 2011, 2133). Cholera spread easily amongst slaves because they lived in close quarters and their sanitary practices were abysmal (Jenson 2011, 2132). Since the 2010 earthquake Haitians now live in close quarters with tarps separating living quarters and used as roofs. They also suffer from lack of toilets and facilities for the removal of feces and human waste. Therefore cholera has spread fast through the devastated post-earthquake Haiti disaster.

Without proper sanitation facilities and clean water cholera will not have a chance to leave the country and “scientists fear that cholera has become endemic in Haiti. It will likely never go away,” (Katz 2013, 244). This means then building a safe and working sanitation and sewer infrastructure should be a primary concern for Haiti’s post-earthquake relief however as Paul Farmer and colleague Louise Ivers points out, “that expectations are lowered for diseases that disproportionately afflict poor people. Investment in long-term public-sector water and sanitation systems have stalled or failed to keep up with demand. Safe, effective, and affordable

oral vaccines exist, and yet remain unavailable in Haiti—as do, too often, timely diagnosis and care” (Farmer and Ivers 2012, 7). Haiti needs clean and safe drinking water along with sanitation facilities in order to combat cholera.

Cholera is a treatable disease and therefore it is seen in mostly poverty-stricken parts of the world where health care and sanitation is lacking; however “poverty doesn’t cause cholera. You can have the world’s poorest people, the worst sanitation, hurricanes, earthquakes, and frogs falling from the sky. If you don’t have *Vibrio cholerae*, you will not have cholera,” (Katz 2013, 222). Since Haiti has never battled cholera and as scholars agree that cholera was never in Haiti before the 2010 earthquake (Jenson 2011) then it more than likely came from an outside source.

According to the Pan American Health Organization cholera is likely to cause death in people with weakened immune systems and since HIV/AIDS and TB are rampant in Haiti and both affect the immune system, Haitians have been more likely to die because of the cholera infection (paho.org 2013). As the time progresses the cholera strain, *Vibrio cholerae*, is evolving which renders even those previously infected at risk of reinfection (Ivers 2012) and this places fears that the cholera strain could become drug resistant. Cholera has already begun to spread from Haiti and has reached Cuba within the past year. As the CDC (Center for Disease Control) reports:

On January 6, 2013, The Cuban Ministry of Health (MoH) confirmed an outbreak of cholera in Havana, the country’s capital. A total of 51 laboratory-confirmed cases of cholera have been reported in Havana.

In July 2012, the Cuban MoH confirmed the country’s first cholera outbreak in more than a century. That outbreak was in the city of Manzanillo, in eastern

Granma province, and was declared over in late August. Cuba's cumulative number of confirmed cholera cases since July 2012 is now more than 500.

(cdc.org 2013)

This is evidence that the devastation of the earthquake and the diseases prevalent in Haiti can affect the rest of the world. Yet if foreign powers, like the U.S., in a position to have helped, had provided help for Haiti *before* the earthquake this current situation would not appear so bleak or dire.

In Haiti in 2008 before most of Haiti's infrastructure crumbled, only 17% of Haitians had access to sanitation facilities such as flushable toilets, septic tanks, ventilated improved pit latrines, and composting toilets (Periago 2012, 12). There is not a city in Haiti that has a sewer system (lessonsfromhaiti.org 2012). In other words in Port-Au-Prince, an urban city of over three million people, finding a toilet is nearly impossible (Periago 2012, 12-3). NPR reported in April of 2012 about the conditions:

The cumulative sewage of 3 million people flows through open ditches. It mixes with ubiquitous piles of garbage. Each night, an all-but-invisible army of workers called bayakou descend into man-sized holes with buckets to remove human waste from septic pits and latrines, then dump it into the canals that cut through the city (Knox 2012).

This description of sanitation is scary and once the reality of disease such as cholera is thrown into the picture it gets worse. For Americans it is hard to imagine not using toilets or running water or soap to clean and sanitize with and yet in Haiti such commodities are scarce if existent

at all.

In April of 2012 two international aid organizations began a cholera vaccination project in the Artibonite region in Haiti, Partners in Health (PIH) and GHESKIO. This project has now vaccinated 45,000 people, which is a 90% success rate because they were aiming for 50,000 (pih.org 2012). This vaccination project will help unvaccinated people from contracting cholera because of the outreaching effects of the 45,000 people that were vaccinated. However a vaccination project like this one will work better with proper sanitation facilities and clean and potable drinking water.

Without proper sanitation the vaccination project may not succeed as well:

The devastation of last year's earthquake in Haiti joined intractable problems of poverty, deforestation and the loss of its microbiotic ecosystem. Soil microorganisms that consume pathogens are integral to the macrobiotic ecosystem, and are a first line of defense against groundwater contamination. The loss of Haiti's soils and the beneficial organisms they host means that many shallow aquifers are now unprotected. (Wampler, 2011)

This information should not be forgotten when implementing projects such as the cholera vaccination project brought on by the PIH and GHESKIO organizations. Indeed the work that these two organizations have done with the Haitian health infrastructure has been vitally important to poor Haitians and the continued work these organizations have planned is of great significance to the overall structure of Haiti (pih.org; gheskio.org).

In viewing the upcoming projects from PIH such as the newly built Hôpital Universitaire de Mirebalais (HUM) which has 1800 solar panels that produce 100% of the hospital's energy

needs during the daylight hours (pih.org 2013) shows the dedication these organizations have to rebuilding Haiti's health infrastructure. The HUM opened its doors in March 2013 along with this project PIH is also increasing its mental health care beginning in 2013 with the help of Grand Challenges Canada grant of US\$1.5 million (pih.org 2013). PIH is acknowledging the need and importance of mental health among the citizens of Haiti through work in depression and PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder). This is crucial in lieu of the recent and historical violence that has been prone to Haiti.

The above diseases, cholera, TB, AIDS/HIV, are diseases of abject poverty when seen in epidemic proportions such as in Haiti. Looking at the in depth work such organizations as PIH and GHESKIO are doing is encouraging to the overall outlook of Haiti's health infrastructure. In order to build the infrastructure such organizations need to work with the Haitian government and ministry in order to build trust and respect with politicians and ministers. Haiti needs the billions of dollars in aid that has been promised to them in order to build the sanitation and clean water facilities, hospitals and clinics, which are desperately needed in Haiti. The idea is that the people will become dependent upon their government to provide health care needs instead of on NGOs and foreign aid. The aid that does get dispersed, as Chomsky and Farmer both argue, should go to Haitian popular organizations, not NGOs and foreign contractors (Chomsky 2010; Farmer 2011). This relates as well to the availability of food in Haiti, which is vital for nutrition and necessary for health and proper health care. Because of poverty as is with health care the availability of food is often times scarce.

Food

Malnutrition has been a recurring problem in Haiti since its formation as an independent

nation. After the deforestation of the country, and the conversion of their agricultural land from domestic production to export products, such as happened with rice, Haitians have had to import more than sixty percent of their food (WFP 2013). As such most Haitians cannot afford the expense of food and the food they can afford is imported and sold cheaply which undermines local agricultural business that cannot compete with cheap imported product. Because the price of food is expensive children suffer from malnutrition. Haiti began importing large amounts of food, especially rice, in the 1980's due in part to U.S agro-business.

In the early 1980's USAID began encouraging Haiti to export agricultural goods and emphasized importing grains from the international markets, such as rice from the U.S. (Chavla, 2010). During the Reagan administration and with the help and power of USAID, "the American Rice Corporation pounced on the opportunity to penetrate Haiti's newly vulnerable rice market," (Chavla, 2010). Leah Chavla researching for the Counsel of Hemispheric Affairs notes this is because:

rice is the basic food staple in Haiti. It has been a well known fact for years that the majority of Haitians work substantially hard in order to eat one hot meal a day, which is almost always a bowl of white rice. Haitians have been cultivating rice in mass quantities for domestic consumption as well as for export since independence in 1806. Nearly two centuries of rice cultivation shows that Haiti was self-sufficient in its rice supply up until 1980. (2010)

At this time the U.S. once again undermined Haitian autonomy and flooded the Haitian market with cheap white rice known as "Miami rice," (Chavla 2010). As seen once again the U.S.'s interests were in business and money for American businesses and this was not in the best

interests for the Haitian poor. Importing rice was yet another way for Haiti's elite and corrupt governments to continue keeping the Haitian poor dependent on foreign interests and humanitarian need.

By the mid-1990s the United States backed by the U.N. placed heavy embargoes on Haiti due to the 1991 coup that overthrew president Aristide. The aforementioned embargoes thus forced starvation and hunger upon the impoverished Haitians. The embargoes were to put pressure on the military powers in charge and force them to relinquish said powers. However the consequences of the embargoes kept food from the poor in Haiti as the New York Times in 1994 reports:

Haiti's children have borne the worst of the political and economic chaos that has gripped the country since its President, the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was ousted in a military coup in September 1991 and economic sanctions were imposed on the country. The infant mortality rate hovers at about 111 per 1,000 births. (Pierre 1994)

NYT also reports that childhood malnutrition rates skyrocketed while these embargoes were active. The embargoes came from not only the U.S. but also other foreign countries (Pierre 1994). To this day the Haitian poor remain uneducated and therefore hard for them to overcome abject poverty, which has led to malnutrition, violence, and corruption.

For most of the last century Haiti has relied heavily on the aid from other countries. However this aid is typically released and funded to foreign corporations and private sectors instead of domestic organizations and grassroots NGOs (Delgado 2012). When it came to fighting hunger, malnutrition, and disease NGOs began to flood Haiti during the 1990s; that said

this has led to a mass influx of NGOs and foreign occupation. Currently there are over 10,000 NGOs in Haiti thus giving Haiti the title Republic of NGOs (Kristoff and Lambertson 2010). Haiti is nonetheless still lacking in food and nutrition programs according to the World Food Programme (WFP),

One third of newborn babies are born underweight

5-10% of children suffer from acute malnutrition

23.4% of children suffer from chronic malnutrition

58 % of women 15-49 and two thirds of children under 5 are affected by anemia.

Seventy-two percent of children aged 6-12 in rural areas also suffer from iodine deficiency and 32 percent of school-age children are infected by intestinal parasites (2013).

The WFP also emphasizes that 60% of Haitians work in agriculture and yet more than fifty percent of their food is imported (wfp.org 2013). Again because of the U.S. undermining Haitian domestic agriculture and business the Haitian poor are the ones affected. USAID did recognize that such undermining would create endemic poverty but continued to deflate Haiti's domestic agricultural business because it was in the interests of the American agribusiness (Chavla 2010). By 2003 eighty percent of the rice consumed in Haiti came from American businesses thus making these companies millions in dollars (Chavla 2010).

Haiti is in need of domestic agriculture production so as to gain back sovereignty and feed the citizens of Haiti. In order to accomplish this Haiti must be able to rely on their government and its ministry for food and health care, not NGOs and foreign influences.

Myron Beasley's 2012 article, "Women, *Sabotaj* , and Underground Food Economies in

Haiti,” looks into Haiti’s underground food economy and provides detail on how Haitians use international “help” to their advantage. In this article he looks at how women survive by selling food on the street. Within this system of selling food the women have began an unconventional community (Beasley 2012). Typically underground economies are linked to illegal drug trafficking, prostitution, and con-artists, as Beasley points out (34), but in situations such as Haiti “informal economies are fluid and . . . such systems exist because of a lack of regulations” and Beasley “faults the state for creating an exploited class of workers,” (34). Thus an underground food economy in Haiti persists.

This article highlights important historical aspects of Haiti, such as the Haitian Creole pig, which was slaughtered by USAID and the Duvalier regime in 1981 in response to the U.S. fear of swine flu (Beasley 2012, 37). The Haitian pig was a valuable source of food and income for the average Haitian along with an important part of their voodoo religion (Beasley 2012, 37). This indigenous pig was able to live in the climate and could be eaten or sold, but in 1981 International aid workers declared pigs unsafe and carriers of African Swine fever (Beasley 2012, 37) and in one summer all Haitian Creole pigs were slaughtered. During this time the U.S. said that the farmers could turn in their black Creole pig for a pink American pig at no cost (Beasley 2012, 37). However the U.S. government not only charged the Haitians for the pigs but also charged them more than what the average Haitian could afford (Beasley 2012, 37); these pink pigs were not able to live in the Haitian environment and eventually this assimilation of pink pig was proven unsuccessful. The French brought in a similar version of the black Creole pig in the late 1990s and these pigs were able to adapt to the Haitian climate better (Beasley 2012,).

The obliteration of the black Creole pig became a symbol for the Haitians relationship with International aid organizations, especially with the U.S. and U.N.; it came to symbolize “unchecked capitalistic domination, the destruction of a cultural and religious sacrament, and the stripping of a life-giving source of food and self-determination from exactly the people who can least stand to lose it,” (Beasley 2012, 37). Subsequently in an ironic twist while Beasley is doing ethnographical study on street food in Haiti the first food product he asks about is “brittle fried bits, that look tasty to me,” (Beasley 2012, 33) and the woman responded by saying “They are pig ears. This is what the U.S. sends to us because you don’t eat them there... You know how we feel about your pig!” (Beasley 2012, 33).

Beasley does a remarkable job of bringing to light a broken system in how food aid is being distributed or more often how it does not get distributed in Haiti; claiming that most of the food aid sits in storage and if it ever gets dispersed it is not for months or years (Beasley 2012, 41). One of the reasons the women’s street food is considered an underground economy is due to the women stealing food from aid warehouses to use in their street food (Beasley 2012, 40). Haitian women have governed an underground food network that is able to sustain communities, which are in a food shortage. It is through such research that one is able to piece together the reasons why aid agencies and organizations do not work and how Haiti can become a sustaining country. Basic infrastructure must be developed in order for Haitians to rebuild their lives.

Women’s and Children’s Health/Family Planning

Women and children feel the burden and lasting effects of abject poverty in ways that are different from men. This is because women not only take care of the family, household, and children they also work for income outside of the home. Women and children who live in abject

poverty have a greater chance of sexual assault/abuse, unwanted pregnancies, abortions, and suffering from severe malnutrition or starvation (Lathrop et al 2007, 240). Women and children are also the recipients of health care neglect especially in developing nations as is clearly seen in Haiti.

Women and children on average need more health care than an average male because of women's ability to reproduce. Reproduction bears a lot of responsibility on a woman's shoulders because in the end it is the woman who must ward off unwanted pregnancies through birth control, family planning, or abstaining from sex. Yet this is not as easy as it seems. Birth control and family planning is not readily available in Haiti even though ninety-seven percent (Lathrop et al 2011, 240) of women would choose birth control, family planning or both if they had the option and abstaining from sexual intercourse is not always a possibility especially with the high rate of sexual assault resulting in rape in Haiti.

Some of the most implicit problems amongst women living in Haiti is the maternal mortality ratio of 670 per 100 000 live births, which is among the highest in the western hemisphere (Lathrop et al 2011, 239). The reasons for these deaths may not always be preventable or predictable but the high rate of pregnancy can be prevented, however only twenty-five percent of women in reproductive age use or have access to birth control (Lathrop et al 2011, 240). The U.N. has acknowledged that preventable maternal mortality and morbidity is a human rights violation (Shaw 2012, S55). The first steps into implementing family planning are providing birth control and reproductive rights to Haitians.

The ability to choose family planning is not available for women living in abject poverty and providers find it difficult to provide such services due to lack of money, education, and

transportation (Maternowska 2006); in other words basic infrastructure. Women are the bearers of the population and Haiti's current population is roughly ten million (who.org). It is due to poverty, lack of choice and infrastructure that women are unable to control their reproductive rights. This is not to say that Haitian women should be somehow responsible for their population control or that they should have their reproductive rights taken away, but that when women have the options they typically make good decisions for their bodies. Haiti is a tragic situation because of its high mortality rates among children less than five years of age and the low life expectancy age of sixty-three for women and sixty for men (who.org 2012). These statistics offer a glimpse into the health needs of women and children in Haiti but they do not provide the human side to the health care crisis in Haiti.

Women and children are often the ones to endure any violence that might be present in the home. The violence women and children bear takes a toll on their wellbeing and becomes an intricate part of their health struggle. In these circumstances health care becomes psychological care and health officials must handle trauma and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). When violence and rape become a critical part of the criminal world it is hard to avoid unwanted pregnancies and abortions. Gender inequality is not only prevalent in the health sector but in all sectors of the Haitian government, culture, and infrastructures (Maternowska 2006).

This provides an overview of the health needs in Haiti and only truly scratches the surface to the suffering imposed on the poor people of Haiti. Just as Paul Farmer believes health care is a human right so to do the people living in Haiti.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE BUILD THE PILLARS OF DEMOCRACY

Beginning in 1948, the international community recognized education as a fundamental human right, through Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights Articles 13 and 14 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights further stipulate that —primary education shall be free and compulsory to all, secondary and higher education shall be equally accessible to all, and the development of a system of schools at all levels shall be actively pursued, These international benchmarks on education are based on the premise that education has a strong impact on a country’s development. (Carlson et al 2011, 9)

When Haiti first won its independence in 1804 it was divided into two nations the north ruled by Henri Christophe I and the southern half ruled by Alexander Pétion. Christophe was a man born on the British island Grenada (Clement 1979, 34). He developed an education system influenced by British educational systems (Clement 1979, 34-5). King Christophe was interested in the Lancastrian or monitorial system of education and with the help of friends from abroad he was able to start five Lancastrian schools by 1816 (Clement 1979, 35). King Christophe set up schools in each of the primary cities in the Northern part of Haiti. They were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and language (Clement 1979, 36). King Henri wanted to do away with the French language and anything that would remind the children of slavery or their oppression by the French, as Clement writes, King Henri wanted to “free the minds” of the children and bring them to the “intellectual level of the British,” (Clements 1979, 36). Henri Christophe focused on the social welfare of his people by building schools and clinics showing that he wanted better choices for Haitians than slavery. King Christophe wanted to bring his people to the status of intellectuals. By the time Christophe died in 1820 there were up to ten schools running in the Lancastrian model (Clement 1979, 37).

In 1817 when two missionaries from the south of Haiti visited the Lancastrian schools that had been established they immediately returned to Port-Au-Prince and started a Lancastrian school (Clement 1979, 37). However this was the only school started in the south before Pétion's death in 1818 he did nonetheless nationalize the school (Clement 1979, 38). After 1820 Haiti became united again under the rule of Jean-Pierre Boyer who did not emphasize education and closed all of the schools King Christophe had started and destroyed the buildings (Clement 1979, 39). Boyer brought destruction to Haiti, he destroyed their education system that was just starting, he agreed to pay France indemnities, and he allowed foreign nations to invade and collect debts; because of his lack of interest in the educational system it became run by private groups or religious missionaries (Clement 1979, 39-40). The privatization of education allowed for certain people, elite wealthy Haitians, to receive a better education than others and even to exclude some people from being able to attend school (Girard 2010, 66-7).

After Boyer's death in 1843 the country turned to civil unrest and the Haitians had a hard time electing and keeping a president (Clement 1979, 39). However difficult it was for children to attend school due to the violence one was opened in 1846 in Port-Au-Prince (Clement 1979, 39). The problem being only children in urban areas could attend school yet eighty-five percent of the population lived in rural areas (Clement 1979, 40). In December of 1848 a law was enacted that stated schools needed to be located in rural areas as well, by 1859 there were 118 primary schools in Haiti (Clement 1979, 40). Then in 1869 Ellie Dubois was placed in position of Ministry of Instruction and he revamped Haiti's education system by starting new schools expanding into higher education and providing new curriculum (Clement 1979, 40). By October 1861 there were 229 primary schools in Haiti (Clement 1979, 41) and by the end of the

nineteenth century there were almost 600 primary schools in Haiti (Clement 1979, 42). Haitian presidents grappled with corruption and debts, which in turn prevented funding from going to education.

Haiti struggled to be recognized as an independent nation by the international community and it was strapped down with enormous erroneous debt; therefore this turned Haiti's concentration onto foreign and political affairs as opposed to social programs and building up internal infrastructure. Religious groups began to take over educating Haitians in the nineteenth century though with reservations from Haitians (Clement 1979, 43). Religious organizations tended to have their own agenda, teaching the word of God, and not that of primary education, reading, writing, and arithmetic (Clements 1979, 43-5). Religious affiliated schools offered education free of charge because they were funded by foreign and outside interests unlike Haitians public schools that had registration fees and where parents must find money for books, paper, and pencils (Clement 1979, 63) and still do to this day. Therefore most rural parents could not afford to send their children to school unless it was a religious school.

Until the U.S. invasion in 1915 Haiti struggled with educating their people. By the time the twentieth century emerged, Haiti struggled with massive political and civil unrest; this in turn affected every aspect of Haiti's social and political infrastructures especially funding schools and making them available and safe for children to reach. That said Haiti's education system was fully in place by the end of the nineteenth century due in large part to private and religious schools (Clement 1979). It was in the twentieth century that Haiti regressed in its duty to education.

There were many attempts by the Haitian government to reform their education system

but some of these reforms met with opposition from the peasants because the education was offered for the elite Haitian and not the rural poor Haitian (Prou 2009, 32). In 1941 Minister of Education, Maurice Dartigue, tried miserably at reforming rural education by implementing “practically-oriented agriculture and vocational curriculum,” (Prou 2009, 33) meaning an education based on how to be a better farmer. This was unappealing to rural Haitians and they refused to partake in la Réforme Dartigue. Rural peasant Haitians preferred the “traditional and classical-based education” (Prou 2009, 33) the elite received. After this reform failed it would not be until the 1980s that education would become once again a major reform issue (Prou 2009). This is in consequence to the François Duvalier regime that repressed Haitians education.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s Haiti began a major campaign to revamp the education system know as the “*la Réforme Bernard*,” (Prou 2009, 38). This reform was again similar to the la Réforme Dartigue because the focus was based on technical and vocational education and the Haitians wanted their children to attend universities because vocational schools were thought to be of lower standing (Luzincourt 2010, 5). This was a market based approach to education (Luzincourt 2009, 5); in other words the reform was geared toward training more productive workers in the direction of market growth, rather than developing a strong traditional education system. The international community has treated the majority of the Haitian population as ignorant and uneducatable by down playing Haitians ability to know the difference between quality education and one intended to produce and exploit a population of workers. The peasants of Haiti, which are the majority of the population, have been overlooked and not allowed to participate in these educational reforms. These reforms did not provide Haitians with a chance to truly better themselves but a way for the elite to continue to exploit the Haitian people.

The last reform to their education system came in 1997 under the direction of the Prével government; known as the National Plan of Education and Training (NPET) (Luzincourt 2010, 5-6). This reform went to a “participatory learning based on student-centered approaches,” (Luzincourt 2010, 6). An environment that would develop unity and appreciation of diversity within the country (Luzincourt 2010, 6-7) was the main objective of this reform. This has not been a fulfilled reform because of the scarcity of monetary funds and the complete that has tormented the country.

In a country of over ten million there are fewer than a thousand doctors (Andrews 2004); this is not only a crisis in the health care infrastructure but also in the educational infrastructure. Haiti’s rural population constitute seventy percent of the nation's population and yet less than fifty-five percent of their children aged five to twelve are enrolled in school (Luzincourt 2010, 2). The lack of education among the majority of the population is destructive to efforts in developing infrastructure in Haiti. Because of Haiti’s inadequate resources and funding to build a foundational educational infrastructure the population suffers. The statistics are staggering: eighty percent of the population is illiterate and in addition, all but ten percent of the schools are privately run and most of these by Catholic or Protestant organizations (Andrews 2004).

Language has been another way for Haitian elites to maintain a high level of control over the education sector because in order to be a true citizen and work in politics one must understand and speak French (Andrews 2004). All private and public schools are taught in French and this is detrimental to poor Haitians who speak and understand Creole not French. This causes segregation between the elite citizens of Haiti, the rural peasant and urban slum populations. The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) stresses that, “the current practice of

using French rather than Creole in the classroom discriminates against the lower socioeconomic classes,” (Luzincourt 2010, 3). Until Creole is permitted in the education of Haitians, the education system in Haiti will remain segregated and biased.

The elites have used education as a means of gaining future political figures and they have not focused on educating the Haitian poor (Prou 2009). The Haitian education system has been geared towards the elites. For one reason poor Haitians in rural areas have had little access to schools and due to difficulties such as poor infrastructure, lack of electricity, roads, and health care low turnout and enrollment in schools in rural areas have occurred. Haitian education has never been free for the rural peasants or urban slum populations; they have often had to pay registration fees, tuition and all of their children’s books and pencils (Luzincourt 2010, 2-3). This is not to mention the insecurity of attending school in a violent conflict riddled country. For most of the twentieth century Haitians have lived under extreme violence and terror from their governments and these reasons prevent children from being able to attend school securely and safely (Luzincourt 2010).

Haiti’s military and paramilitaries have used civil violence as a deterrent for education but they have also used education as a target for spreading their violence. This type of violence against education can be seen in the Duvalier dictatorships when Papa Doc bombed and destroyed schools and universities along with placing members of the Tontons Macoutes into teaching positions (Luzincourt 2010, 6). Duvalier was a ruler who wanted absolute authority; therefore free and democratic education was out of the question. He made sure this was enforced through violence and the threat of violence with paramilitary force. Education in Haiti would not see true attempts at reform until the Aristide government and the Fanmi Lavalas party took

power (Hallward 2010). While the FL party was in power intermittently from 1991 – 2004 they accomplished some education reform: in 1990 only 38 secondary schools existed in Haiti and by 2001 there were 138; 195 primary schools were built and these schools were free of charge (but books and uniforms still cost money); FL provided thousand of scholarships for children to attend religious and private schools; implemented a school lunch program; implemented an adult literacy program; built a medical university in Tabarre (Hallward 2010, 133). This type of reform in the system, however, did not last because of the coup and overthrow of the FL and Aristide party again in 2004.

The Tabarre medical school “was shut down after the coup, and the complex was appropriated as a base for US troops; as of 2007 it remains closed and partly occupied by MINUSTAH soldiers, forcing the staff to relocate the medical training to Cuba,” (Hallward 2010, 133). The current occupation of Haiti by the U.S. and U.N. has effectively resulted in an occupation of the Haitian education system and this has in turn led to an attack on Haitian’s democracy.

In order to facilitate education reform in Haiti they must have an economy that supports education and educated people. When the intellectuals fled the country during the Duvalier dictatorship the Catholic Church stepped in and replaced the educated and intellectual population of Haiti (Haiti Land of Tragedy, Land of Hope 2004). This was the first time intellectuals immigrated to neighboring countries but it would not be the last. During all of the major uprising and coups, which Haiti has been privy to, the educated are often the first ones to leave (Luzincourt 2010, 7). This has caused the brain drain on Haiti or otherwise known as Human capital flight (Joseph 2011, 146) leaving Haiti with less than adequate teachers who do not

receive sufficient salary or pay. On account of the extreme violence that Haiti has sustained educated Haitians are known to immigrate to other countries (Luzincourt 2010, 9-10). Yet Haiti needs educated people to stay and take part in its government, social programs, the building of infrastructures, and for the overall betterment of Haiti.

The religious sector of Haiti's education is influential to the overall development of Haitian education. This is due to the high number of religious groups in Haiti doing humanitarian work in the education system. A large problem with schools run by private religious organizations is their focus, which tends to be on spreading the word of God or the gospel instead of on mathematics, language, and reading (Andrews 2004); in turn these basic educational tools become secondary in the schools priority. It is true that the private religious schools often have more monetary cushion (though not much) than the public sector because they rely on foreign money for support as opposed to the Haitian government. A religious education would be a valuable option if the children attending these institutions were not coming from abject poverty and living without health care, housing, and food, the most basic of human rights. However Haitian children need to learn the most fundamental of education skills such as reading, writing, and arithmetic as their primary focus and not their secondary.

Haiti's history of education or lack thereof is due in part to presidents who only sought personal interests, foreign occupations, and an overall lack of necessity placed upon education. It has been a hard road for Haiti since its revolution and emancipation from French colonialists in 1804 and the task of education has been on the bottom of most leaders' priorities. It must be reiterated that Haiti was founded upon former slaves in the land they relinquished from the French. The former slaves in King Henri I's land did acknowledge the necessity and value of education

but those values were torn down along with the schools Henri Christophe built. When Boyer ruled from 1820 until 1843 he did little to further the education system of Haiti mostly because he was wracked by erroneous and enormous debt that rendered him incapable of advancing the system.

Ninety-Two percent of schools that have been implemented in Haiti are of the private sector (Luzincourt 2010, 2) and this has brought tuition and registration fees to education along with mandatory uniforms. The occupation and privatization of the educational sector has greatly affected the Haitian population because it has allowed only the wealthiest of Haitians to attend school due to high fees as well as affording books, school supplies and transportation. This has forced most of the population to remain uneducated and ignorant of the most basic human knowledge. An education is the means to a better life and fuller understanding of oneself and the world. It is through education children learn peace and non-violence; they learn to read, write, discuss, analyze and understand critical thinking. Yet obstacles, such as costly, but mandatory, uniforms have denied children the very education that could offer economic security.

When the United States invaded in 1915 they told tales of rebuilding Haiti's educational infrastructure but it never happened. It was during this initial invasion and then afterwards that NGOs, the United Nations, the United States and other foreign entities flooded Haiti to provide schooling; though albeit ineffectually. Today Haiti suffers from for-profit organizations educating Haitians (Carlson et al 2011, 13). This has only resulted in more educational discrimination amongst the Haitian poor because they cannot afford to send their children to school.

The 2010 earthquake devastated an educational system that was already in tatters.

However even though the educational infrastructure was not of the highest standards it had made huge headway since the end of the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986. Dozens of new universities opened after the fall of the brutal regime (Lacey 2010) and even though most were not accredited they provided a place to receive any kind of education above a secondary level. In order for Haiti to develop internal capabilities for recovering from such calamities as the devastation the earthquake caused, there must be a focus on the education of the entire Haitian population.

Being one of Haiti's most valuable infrastructures, the current educational system is in need of repair. Education is beneficial on multiple levels, helping not only in the overall wellbeing of the people and country but also contributes in economic growth and human development, which is dire in Haiti (Carlson et al 2011). Health is not the absence of illness but the "presence of physical, mental and social welfare," (Carlson et al 2011, 9-10). As stated earlier education helps in the building of a solid health infrastructure because once one is knowledgeable about hygiene, reproduction, and nutrition and is able to obtain these needs they are more apt and willing to lead healthy lives (Carlson et al 2011, 10). Healthy living comes from educated people taking control of their lives and bettering themselves and their environment.

All of Haiti's infrastructures are connected and one cannot be rebuilt without the others. It is crucial that Haitians' education becomes a number one priority because with education comes the capacity to develop health care, economic growth, self-reliance, and the end to dependency. Haitians have already proven they are capable of building their infrastructures as they began doing when the FL party was in power from 2001-2004. However with countering actions from external governments, such as examples mentioned earlier and others elaborated in

the following chapter, has made it difficult for Haiti to preserve, develop, and support, such social institutions. Various offensive strategies by the US, Canada, France and the UN, have worked catastrophically to undermine democracy in Haiti. The next chapter will examine how foreign powers worked to oppose democracy and oppress the Haitian population, by focusing on their impact in the government, military, paramilitaries, and criminal infrastructures.

CHAPTER V

HAITI'S PARAMILITARIES, DEATH SQUADS, AND PREVAILING REPRESSION OF THE POOR

Haiti has a long history of corruption within its political system, as has been presented. Haiti has thus suffered through numerous military coups and dictators who have oppressed its citizens.

Massive corruption, petty squabbles, endless revolutions, and repression have destroyed existing infrastructures, scared away local and foreign investments, and given Haitians little incentive to better their economic well-being in an environment that does not reward success. (Girard 2010, 11)

Haiti is a country with over 10,000 NGOs (Kristoff 2010) and it is from these NGOs that Haitians receive most of their health services, education, and food.

International and humanitarian aid have, perhaps inadvertently, enabled the historically oppressive governments of Haiti to rule because Haitians have relied on these organizations, instead of governmental institutions, for health care, education, and food (Girard 2010); this has allowed Haitian governments to place funding in the military and business sectors and not in the welfare of the Haitian people. An oppressive government subjugates by not providing basic infrastructural needs to their people; health care or an education would empower the citizens and enable Haitians to better themselves and their environment. Haitians historically have stood

against oppression and have held protests, marches, and demonstrations to voice their disdain for such predatory institutions. However this type of democratic showcasing is what has led to organizations as paramilitaries. Haitian paramilitaries first emerged during François Duvalier's first five years in office. The Tontons Macoutes were formed to rid, torture, and prosecute Duvalier's opposition people, organizations, and leaders. The oppressive government, elites, and foreign powers have all supported paramilitaries and their aim to hush the opposition in Haiti (Sprague 2012) as long as the said powers remained wealthy and free.

Paramilitarism

-paramilitaries are irregular armed organizations backed by sectors of the upper class. (Sprague 2012, 113)

One cannot look into Haiti's government and political policies without running into corrupt and criminal leaders, policies, and diplomatic relations. Haiti's infrastructural problems can be linked to the corrupt and criminal ways in which Haitian leaders and dictators have chosen to rule. The only infrastructure of Haiti's that was developed was its military. The Haitian military was structured and trained by the U.S. during their invasion from 1915-1934 and since has been retrained by the U.S. or more specifically the CIA and currently the U.N. (Sprague 2012, 25; un.org).

The Haitian military that was developed during the first occupation by the U.S. had only U.S. interests in mind as Jeb Sprague argues in his new book, *Paramilitarism and the Assault on Democracy in Haiti* (2012, 24-5). The military created and trained by the United States would occupy Haiti long after the United States had departed and these Haitian troops would be "subservient to the interests of the U.S., the bourgeoisie, and the big landowners," (Sprague

2012, 24). This is the first point in Haiti's history where the U.S. helps to sustain Haiti's military force and it will not be the last. The Haitian military was first torn down by François Duvalier then re-constructed as a paramilitary organization in 1958, Volontaires de le Sécurité Nationale, or better known as the Tontons Macoutes, again with the help of the U.S. marines (Sprague 2012, 35-38). The Tontons Macoutes generated fear, control, and absolute autonomy on behalf of Duvalier, all the while creating violence and inequality between the peasants and the wealthiest of Haitians. The Haitian military and paramilitaries have been the most successful infrastructures because their achievement relied upon funding from elite landowners and foreign powers. This in turn served to keep the peasants poor and disenfranchised as well as created and established fear, violence and control over the Haitian population.

The success of the Haitian paramilitaries was reliant upon political parties such as the Duvalier dynasty. The Duvaliers gave militants full immunity for their criminal and corrupt actions (Haiti Land of Tragedy, Land of Hope). During François Duvalier's first year in office 1957 he dismantled the military due to fear of a coup and assassinated 19 men in charge of the military; subsequently stripping the military of their power (Haiti Land of Tragedy, Land of Hope). Immediately following these assassinations François Duvalier started the Tontons Macoutes. This paramilitary organization then tyrannized Haitian citizens for thirty years.

When François Duvalier died in 1971 and gave his son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, the title of President for Life. Jean-Claude strengthened the paramilitary (Sprague 2012). Applying fear and terror while committing murder, rape, and torture was the job of the Tontons Macoutes and they performed their jobs effectively. The oppression the Tontons Macoutes forced upon Haitians came with little objection from the U.S. (Hallward, 2010; Sprague 2012; Chomsky and Farmer,

2004) because the U.S. had its interests in the business sector of Haiti and not in the social welfare of the Haitians as is seen in its policies towards Haiti. “Haiti became a solid platform for U.S. and multinational corporations. Seven foreign firms primarily active in Haiti in 1967 grew to over 300 U.S. (and other) corporations in 1986,” (Sprague 2012, 32). U.S. economic expansion in the 1980s also came from the U.S. agribusiness as is seen in the rice industry. The United States made enormous amounts of money from international trade business with corrupt Haitian regimes at the expense of the Haitian poor (Hallward 2010; Sprague 2012; Farmer 2006; Chavla 2010).

Though the Tontons Macoutes would lose their leader Duvalier in 1986, they would not disappear but rather take on new forms of paramilitary. Even before Jean Claude (“Baby Doc”) fled Haiti, the Tontons Macoutes were taking on other forms as can be seen in 1971 when Baby Doc took power, according to Jeb Sprague, “former U.S. marine instructors trained and equipped an elite military force (the Leopards) worked through a Miami company under CIA contract and with U.S. State Department oversight,” (Sprague 2012, 36). Jeb Sprague was able to obtain information on the violent atrocities of the paramilitary regimes of Haiti due to the Freedom of Information Act implemented under the second Bush administration (Sprague 2012). Most media coverage and attention to the violence committed under paramilitary regimes is often nil or non-existent (Sprague 2012, 12) and therefore extremely hard to research.

The Leopards and their leader, Louis-Jodel Chamberlain, would eventually evolve into the death squads of the paramilitary organization, FRAPH (Front Révolutionnaire Pour l’Avancement et le Progrès Haïtien) in 1993 (Sprague 2012, 15-6). Fighting and killing alongside the Tontons Macoutes were the police force, FAd’H (Forces Armées d’Haïti) (Sprague

2012, 15-6). The FAd'H in 1987 became Haiti's security force working under the Ministry of Defense; in other words they became the new army in Haiti. Until this time the FAd'H had been Haiti's police force (globalsecurity.org). Thus the lines between police and military became blurred and still are to this day. The FAd'H under Aristide became disempowered but again never went away but moved underground to reform and reorganize to become the FLRN (Front pour la Libération et la Reconstruction Nationale) an anti-Aristide insurgency force led by Jodel Chamberlain and Guy Philippe (Hallward 2010, xvi). This proved to be detrimental to Aristide's government as seen by the 2004 coup they conducted by the FLRN. Currently one of the objectives of the U.N. and its Minustah peacekeeping forces is to fully train Haiti's police force the HNP (un.org) and this appears reminiscent of when the Marines trained the military and police in Haiti in the 1915-1934 occupation to ensure the interests of the U.S. after its departure.

Haiti's violent and often tragic relationship with paramilitary organizations is unending and in present day Haiti these paramilitary groups still have enormous power. The power given to paramilitaries is through the Haitian government and the elite (which are often one in the same) and is then backed with U.S. and currently U.N. support (Sprague 2012; Hallward 2010). Recent books most notably, Peter Hallward's *Damning the Flood* (2010) and Jeb Sprague's *Paramilitarism and the Assault on Democracy in Haiti* (2012), reveal how the U.S., France, Canada, and the U.N. help to instigate the coup in 2004. Sprague and Hallward argue that the international community helped to instigate the coup of 2004 because popular democracy in Haiti goes against the interests of a market based capitalist economy that can maintain illegally low minimum wages and establish large factories using Haitians lacking other options to produce clothes and apparel for U.S. and world markets at egregiously low wages. The United States

working under USAID have continuously worked against the democratically elected president, Aristide, in minimum wage increases in Haiti (Ragen 1994, 33; Sprague 2012, 60; Hallward 2010, 37; Girard 2010, 124-5; Farmer 2006, 145) and this has spread into all aspects of Haiti's underdevelopment.

The history of Haiti's paramilitary regimes is extensive and due to the corruption and underground nature of paramilitaries it has been hard historically to track their crimes and connections. However, as is the case with Haiti, after decades of continuous oppression and corruption information has begun to come forward. Jeb Sprague and Peter Hallward have provided in depth analyses of Haiti's paramilitary regimes and the international powerhouses behind the regimes. Noam Chomsky and Paul Farmer are also critical observers of how the U.S., and currently the U.N., have instigated coups and oppression towards pro-democratic Haitians (Farmer 2006; Hallward 2010; Sprague 2012; Chomsky 2004, 1994). This information is difficult to research because it brings to light crimes against humanity or more precisely Haitians.

The coups of 1991 and 2004 were in retaliation to the democratically elected president Aristide. The paramilitary groups, which formed in consequence of the coups, are, as Jeb Sprague argues, an assault on democracy (2012). These paramilitaries inflict repression on liberty, freedom, and safety of the Haitian people.

Coups d'état and Paramilitaries

A coup is defined by the Oxford dictionary as a sudden violent and illegal seizure of power from a government, usually undertaken by the military. A successful coup completely usurps power and instates a new government and an unsuccessful one typically results in civil

war and unrest. The coups that have taken place in Haiti have been military coups and the outcomes of these coups have been detrimental to the state of Haiti, resulting in the installation of oppressing paramilitary organizations such as the FAd'H, FRAPH, and currently FLRN.

The FRAPH was an oppressive organization inflicting terror, murder, and rape on the citizens of Haiti and was created following the coup of 1991 (Sprague 2012). FRAPH worked with the FAd'H under the leadership of Raoul Cédras and was primarily made up of former Tontons Macoutes (Sprague 2012, 62). The coup and subsequent military rule for the next three years would be some of the worst bloodshed in Haitian history. During the last year of the military rule from 1993-94 human rights organizations recorded what “had become evident that the Cédras regime had committed arguably the greatest crime against womankind in the Caribbean since slavery,” (Rey 1999, 74) with what the junta regime called their rape campaign. During this paramilitary enslavement of the Haitian people from 1991-94 thousands of people were killed while hundreds of thousands fled by boat or any way possible (Rey 1999, 73). After the reinstatement of Aristide to presidency in 1994 FAd'H and the FRAPH became publicly dissolved (Sprague 2012, 80) only to reorganize underground (actually the former leaders of FRAPH and FAd'H as Jodel Chamberlain and Guy Phillipe were awarded asylum in the Dominican Republic, where they were resting, re-organizing, and re-building their paramilitary) to form the FLRN in 2000 (Sprague 2012, 125, ch 5).

The FLRN is what Sprague refers to as the fourth wave of paramilitary incursion on Haiti (Sprague 2012, 16). They formed in the early 2000's by “renegade police officials who were from among the same ex-FAd'H,” (Sprague 2012, 16). The FLRN was also funded and armed most notably by the U.S., Haitian elite, Canada, and France (Hallward 2010, 119-20; Sprague

2012, 80). To these foreign nations the 2001 Aristide government and his FL party represented a socialist movement aimed at improving the lives of the poor and this would hinder the economic interests of those nations. Subsequently strict sanctions were placed upon Haiti in 2002 by the second Bush administration (Hallward 2010, 81-4). “Few governments could survive such sustained financial assault,” (Hallward 2010, 83) as the Aristide administration did in the early twenty-first century with sanctions and embargoes from neighboring countries such as the U.S. In 2002, two years before the second military coup against Aristide, according to USAID Gallup polls, Aristide “enjoyed 60 percent support in the country, whereas the opposition polled at less than 10 percent,” (Sprague 2012, 211).

In 2004 a successful military coup happened which resulted in the kidnapping of Aristide by the U.S. marines with the backing of the Bush administration (Pina, 2010; Chomsky 2004, ch 8, 9; Sprague 2012, 233; Hallward 2010, 229). Aristide was flown to the Central African Republic without prior knowledge to where he was going (Chomsky 2004, 101). Donald Rumsfeld and Roger Noreiga of the Bush administration said Aristide resigned (Delgado 2012) however Aristide himself claims he was taken and forced onto a plane and flown out of his country (Chomsky 2004, 102-5; Pina, 2010). The rifles used in the 2004 coup were M-16s and M-60s, which are American rifles (Delgado 2012). When the international community intervened in January of 2004 the U.S. took Aristide and with the help of France and Canada implemented a successor Latortue and in June of 2004 the U.N. began the stabilization mission in Haiti known as the peacekeeping force Minustah (un.org).

MINUSTAH

Since the coup of 2004 Haiti has taken on a new battle against U.N. peacekeeping forces.

The U.N. came to Haiti to help the United States restore ousted president Aristide in 1994 and have maintained a physical presence in Haiti ever since (Hallward 2010; Sprague 2012). Yet it was not until after the 2004 coup that overthrew Aristide for a second time that the U.N. instituted their peacekeeping forces, Minustah (un.org). Minustah is a peacekeeping force (international military force) for the stabilization mission in Haiti, which the United Nations began 1st of June 2004 (un.org). According to the U.N. website:

Minustah: was originally set up to support the Transitional Government in ensuring a secure and stable environment; to assist in monitoring, restructuring and reforming the Haitian National Police; to help with comprehensive and sustainable Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programmes; to assist with the restoration and maintenance of the rule of law, public safety and public order in Haiti; to protect United Nations personnel, facilities, installations and equipment and to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence; to support the constitutional and political processes; to assist in organizing, monitoring, and carrying out free and fair municipal, parliamentary and presidential elections; to support the Transitional Government as well as Haitian human rights institutions and groups in their efforts to promote and protect human rights; and to monitor and report on the human rights situation in the country. (un.org, 2013)

In the years that followed the deployment of these peacekeeping forces, Haiti continued to be plagued by poor infrastructure, starvation, lack of health care, rampant violence, and finally

a devastating earthquake. The Minustah stabilization effort enacted by the U.N. and U.S. has failed to carry out “their efforts to promote and protect human rights” (un.org). Since the earthquake Minustah has increased the number of troops in Haiti from 9,000 to over 12,000 peacekeepers and will continue their presence in Haiti until 2016 (un.org). The U.N. peacekeeping forces are discussed under this section on corruption and paramilitaries because they have proven themselves as a menace to Haitians and not as acting humanitarian forces.

After cholera broke out in Haiti investigations began in locating the initial source of the cholera outbreak since cholera had not been known to exist in Haiti prior to the earthquake. After a year of the disease ravaging the country studies by both the Center for Disease Control (CDC) and Transnational Genomics Research Institute of Denmark located the *Vibrio cholerae* strain as coming from Nepal and further evidenced that the peacekeepers of Minustah that came from Nepal brought the disease to Haiti and contaminated the Artibonite River through unsanitary disposal of their feces, which in turn has caused an endemic of cholera in Haiti (Hendriksen 2011; Sjøgren 2011). The U.N. has repeatedly denied all allegations that they were responsible for the epidemic and it was not until mid-2012 when former president Bill Clinton and ambassador to the U.N. formally recognized that the U.N. was responsible for the outbreak (cepr.net 2012). However he failed to mention that if the U.N. troops had disposed of their feces appropriately the virus would never have spread and that the U.N. had also failed to properly screen their troops who were coming out of a cholera endemic part of the world, Nepal (cepr.net 2012).

Currently the U.N. has cleared itself of all responsibility and places immunity upon itself by citing “Section 29 of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations,”

(cepr.net 2013). This resulted in yet another way the international community has injured Haitians. As will be discussed, Minustah was implemented against Haitians' wills and was thrust upon Haitians to subdue and control the pro-democratic FL party of Aristide's government (Sprague, 2012; Hallward, 2010).

The money spent on Minustah is in the billions of dollars (this year alone US\$648 million is set aside to fund the stationing of Minustah troops in Haiti) (Ivers 2013; Johnson 2011). Whereas this money could be used instead to benefit Haitians in a more productive way such as by developing sanitation and sewer systems, cholera vaccination projects, ridding Haiti of all the rubble left over from the earthquake three years ago, or building homes and secure shelters for the Haitians; yet the U.N. has only promised 1% towards cholera elimination projects (Ivers 2013).

Since Minustah's introduction to Haiti in 2004 they have only brought violence, corruption, disease, murder, and rape to a country that was already plagued by such barbarisms. So far seven men in the Minustah have been accused of raping young boys in Haiti (cepr.net 2012). The Minustah are just part of a long line of ways in which the U.N., U.S., and other foreign powers have occupied and failed to rebuild, construct, bring peace, health, or democracy to the country of Haiti. It is because of tragedies, abuses, pollution, and lack of progress these foreign powers have brought to Haiti that it is now time for organizations such as Minustah to leave. It would take a fraction of the money the U.N. spends on the implementation of the Minustah in Haiti to fix or help fund the needed infrastructural problems (Johnson 2011). The U.N. cannot admit to fault and as Jonathan Katz asserts:

imagine that the UN had held itself accountable for a *presumed* contamination and, at sum roughly equal to the MINUSTAH annual budget, financed national

water and sanitation systems. Imagine that, playing the odds, the UN also compensated victims' families, dismissed those responsible for negligence, and issued a landmark apology. What would the price have been if it all turned out to have been a big misunderstanding? The UN would have fulfilled its humanitarian mission, demonstrating an overarching commitment to a core principle of all interventions: "First do no harm." (Katz 2013, 243)

Yet the U.N. was unable to bring this ideal to fruition. The sewer and sanitation system is only one of many infrastructural problems in Haiti and the following looks at how the prison and judicial systems have mirrored the repression of the other infrastructures.

Prison and Judicial System

The Haitian judicial and prison systems are monitored by human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch because of their conditions. Because Haitian governments funded the military and not social infrastructures, Haitian prisons have suffered and become overcrowded and are breeding grounds for spreading deadly diseases. Haiti had nineteen prisons before the 2010 earthquake and the largest one was built by the U.S. in 1918 during its first occupation 1915-1934 called the Penitencier National (Montague 1966). Before the 2010 earthquake the Penitencier National held 4,125 and in the aftermath of the earthquake all of these prisoners escaped (Cooper 2012) with a total of over 5,000 prisoners escaping all together (Cooper 2012). Most detainees in Haiti's prisons before the 2010 earthquake had been waiting months or years for a trial (Human Right Watch 2013).

The 2010 earthquake destroyed most of the prisons and the one that remained have become extremely overcrowded. The Les Cayes prison now holds approximately 8,000 prisoners

yet the maximum number allotted is only 2,450 therefore each prisoner receives .3 meters of space (Cooper 2012). The cells lack toilets therefore the prisoners must be let out of the cell to use the bathroom; since prisoners only receive two bathroom breaks a day most are defecating and urinating in buckets and on the cell floor (Cooper 2012). Women prisoners are not always separated from the male prisoners and children as young as thirteen can be found amongst the adult prisoners (Cooper 2012). These are the conditions that peak human rights organizations interests and consequently these organizations monitor these said conditions for human rights abuses (Speri 2012).

Before the earthquake there were 214 children ages eleven to seventeen in the Delmas Civil Prison for minors and since the quake forty-one of these children have been recaptured and sent to a penitentiary with hardened adult criminals (Speri 2010). The conditions need to be monitored because of overcrowding, lack of sanitation, food, and medical needs the prisoners suffer. Seventy percent of these prisoners and child prisoners have never seen a judge and do not have any access to legal assistance (Hoyos 2012).

There is one women's prison in the capital of Port-au-Prince called Pétionville Civil Prison (Speri 2010) and this penitentiary holds not only women but also young girls. The cells in this prison hold a maximum of four people but women and girls are being held fifteen or more to a cell with only one or two dirty mattresses on the floor (Speri 2010). By the end of 2012 only twenty-three percent of the boys being held without trial were seen by a judge and not a single female out of the eighteen being held were seen by a judge (Amnesty International 2012). Sexual assaults and rape are hard to prosecute in Haiti (Amnesty International) because rape has been used as a weapon of war and a means of suppressing civil dissidence as can be seen in the

destructive rape campaigns instigated by the FRAPH in the mid 1990's (Rey 1999).

Even in Haiti today rape is on the rise due to makeshift tent cities created after the earthquake (McClelland 2011) and such humanitarian organizations as Minustah are also being accused of rape and sexual misconduct. The psychological affects of rape and sexual assault are severe and last for years (James 2010); therefore rape becomes a physical and psychological health care need and another health care obstacle for the Haitian people to overcome. Unless the violence of murders, rapes, and torture against the Haitian people stop it will be difficult to advance Haitians in their healing of trauma.

Judicial reform is needed in Haiti as well as prison condition reform. For most of Haiti's history the same corrupt leaders ruling the country have run its judicial branch of the government. However recently Haiti has made steps in the direction toward judicial reform and this can be seen in the prosecution of Haitian prison guards and police resulting from the prison massacre of Les Cayes prison days after the earthquake (Sontag 2012). During this massacre twelve to nineteen people were killed and up to forty wounded and the prison warden and guards being accused of the crime were found guilty by a Haitian court of law (Sontag 2012). This is progress for Haiti because typically politicians, police, and judges are immune to the law due to corruption within these systems.

The Haitian prisons were also used to detain political prisoners but the majority of the prisoners being held before the earthquake were for petty crimes, debts, theft, and witchcraft (Sontag 2010). Therefore in the aftermath of the earthquake the U.N. aiding the HNP began invading and scouring the newly developed tent cities for the escaped prisoners (Reed 2011). It is true that out of roughly 5,000 prisoners that escaped a "few hundred prisoners [were] considered

a serious risk to the country's security," (Sontag 2010); however the manhunt for the escaped prisoners is relentless as is recorded in such reporting as *Frontlines: Battle for Haiti* (2011) when what is truly imperative is the reform and rebuilding of the judicial and prison infrastructures.

Also depicted from the Frontline investigation was how kidnappings play a part in the newly underdeveloped Haiti. The kidnappings are committed typically by wealthy elite business men and recently in October of 2012 one of the wealthiest land owners in Haiti, Clifford H. Brandt, was arrested and came under investigation by the Haiti Central Directorate of the Judicial Police (DCPJ) (National Human Rights Defense Network 2012). He allegedly kidnapped two people and held them in ransom of US\$2.5 million (National Human Rights Defense Network 2012). This type of criminal activity has become common in Haiti and has made it difficult for small business owners to set up operations. In the Frontline investigation a native Haitian starting a gravel company was a victim of kidnapping. He was not himself kidnapped but his wife was therefore upon her release after he paid a ransom she sought refuge in the U.S. (Reed 2011). The extortion of money through kidnappings from what little middle class exists in Haiti becomes detrimental to the rebuilding of Haiti's infrastructure. The small elite class in Haiti will not allow for popular democracy because they stand to lose money, nor will they allow for Haiti to end their dependency on foreign aid.

The rise in kidnappings has become a threat for U.S. citizens traveling to Haiti and on 28 December 2012 the U.S. Department of State issued a warning to all Americans traveling to Haiti advising, "no one is safe from kidnapping regardless of occupation, nationality, race, gender, or age," (U.S. Department of State 2012).

The criminal underground or mob economy in present Haiti is now being linked to the

current president Michele Martelly (Ives 2012). *Haiti Liberté*, an independent paper for the Haitian people, which have reported on the Haitian poor to produce viable, truth-telling information on the political and internal infrastructures of Haiti has been focusing on President Martelly and his connections. Within this publication it can be found that Martelly is “dancing with fire” (Ives 2012) by heading the military campaign to reinstate the military, which has brought destruction to the Haitian people for half a century (Ives 2012). He is seen mingling with the recently returned dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier who returned in 2011 and whom has been found unable to stand trial for crimes against humanity because the statute of limitations has expired (Valme 2013). The Haitian court that made this ruling has met with disdain from numerous human rights organizations but so far he is able to walk freely in Haiti without so much as a word of challenge from the U.S. or international community. In contrast Aristide returned in 2011 with protests from the international community including president Barack Obama who did not want Aristide to destabilize the closing days of the 2011 election in Haiti (Archibold 2011).

Haiti will hold another election in 2015 and a new president will take office in 2016. This is why it is not until 2016 that the U.N. will even consider withdrawing from Haiti. This way the U.N. will be able to control and oversee another election. However currently the international advocates of human rights and disaster relief watches have noticed that Haiti has become an example of how not to respond to a natural disaster on an international scale.

Two recent books to critically examine how things went wrong are Jonathan Katz’s *The Big Truck that Went By* (2013), and Mark Schuller’s *Killing with Kindness: Haiti, International Aid, and NGOs* (2012). Both authors reveal how international dependency has also been

“killing” Haiti.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

To wake the zombie, to free his soul, you must give him a taste of salt. – Jean-Bertrand Aristide, 2000.

Haiti’s dependency has become a historical problem and ironically began with winning independence from France in 1802 and emancipating the slaves to create a country of free black people. Haiti was born in a world of unregulated racism, slavery, and lack of human rights for people of any color or race other than white. Because Haiti proved to the world still invested in slavery that slaves could rise up and free themselves, the international community punished them. The United States refused to acknowledge and give recognition to the newly formed

country of Haiti until 1862. France placed enormous indemnities on Haiti in 1825 in order for France to recognize them as a sovereign nation and these debts encumber Haiti to this day. France punished Haiti because France lost their most productive money making colony and the U.S. punished Haiti because they were fearful of their slaves uprising and claiming freedom from white U.S. slave owners.

After recognition was received first in 1825 by France and then in 1862 by the U.S. Haiti suffered through many poor leaders, corruption in the political arena, lack of education, health care, and basic infrastructure (roads, houses, and business). Under the first occupation of Haiti in 1915 by the U.S. Haiti lost its sovereignty and was unable to regain any hegemony until after the fall of the Duvalier dictatorships in 1986 and then with the first democratically elected president Jean Bertrand Aristide in 1990.

Because of Haiti's endemic poverty and the ruthless foreign policy of the U.S. Haiti has been unable to build a solid stable infrastructure that is reliable for the Haitian population. The international community and especially the U.S. have undermined every attempt at popular democracy in Haiti because the Haitians elect a president that does not serve the interests of the U.S. or international community. Thereby the U.S. has pursued policies that supported, funded, and armed military coups, putsch, and juntas to oust Haiti's democratically elected president Aristide (Sprague 2012; Hallward 2010; Farmer 2006). Consequently even democratically elected presidents have been unable to fund the building of much needed infrastructures such as schools, hospitals or clinics, security forces, sewer and sanitation facilities, housing, and roads. This inability of Aristide to build infrastructure rests on the ways in which international aid money was funneled through NGOs and international business elites and not bilaterally through

the Haitian government.

In 2001 Aristide's government was placed under strict embargoes so that no international aid was given to Aristide's administration (Delgado 2012; Hallward 2010, 83-4). Yet Aristide was able to open new schools, a medical university, and maintain peace in a country of 10 million with only 3,000 police officers and he accomplished this without monetary help from the international community (Delgado 2012). Haiti's historical dependency is a product of pervasive global racism. Haiti has been undermined politically, oppressed, and discriminated against by the international community for freeing slaves and forming a free nation of black people in a world of rich white slave owning colonies and countries in the nineteenth century.

Even though Aristide had banned the military in 1995 in 2004 another military coup took place and removed Aristide for a second time. How could a military that does not have funding or weapons have the ability to administer a successful coup? The answer is with monetary funding from wealthy business elite who was in turn being "backed" by the U.S. (Sprague 2012, 165, 178, ch 5). The weapons used in the 2004 coup came from the Dominican Republic (Sprague 2012, 170) where Jodel Chamberlain and Guy Philippe were residing and arming the insurgencies until they crossed the borders themselves in 2004 (Sprague 2012, 218-221) Thus the U.S. and international community has done little to improve the infrastructure of Haiti because as Jeb Sprague points out the "U.S.-led development and reconstruction plans. . . empower and enrich this very same business community" (178).

The 2004 coup was the salt in Haitians wounds that re-awakened the violence in Haiti and the earth felt the Haitian's cries, tears, death, and struggle and it could no longer bear the heavy oppression. As Katz describes on "a hot, slow January afternoon, just past 4:45 P.M." (13)

a 7.0 magnitude earthquake tried to wipe a clean slate on its surface by crumbling Haiti. Yet, the Haitians manage to survive. They survive in conditions that appear impossible for humans to live in. They survive through diseases, natural disasters, oppressive dictators; they survive without clean water or homes. They are a people to be reckoned with.

Haiti has now become a state of before and after the earthquake of 2010. Statistics and research are based on the preconditions of Haiti and post-conditions of Haiti in relation to the earthquake. The earthquake brought destruction on a level unseen before and this is due to the severe underdevelopment in a developing nation such as Haiti. The earthquake inflicted the amount of damage because of deforestation, massive erosion, and neglect from people in power to actually build secure and safe infrastructure (McClintock 2010; Girard 2010; Hallward 2010). Haiti is not just a problem with politics and natural disasters; it is a human problem. It is human actions and inactions that have led to Haiti's decline and it can be human actions that bring the country around.

The international aid relief to Haiti in lieu of the 2010 earthquake failed because the U.S. funneled money through American NGOs and big business along with writing itself checks to pay for the cost of sending troops to the disaster relief (Knox 2013). The relief money went to paying off outstanding debts instead of building homes, hospitals, clinics, schools, and security facilities. The international community is beginning to realize that the relief given to Haiti was a calamity and did not accomplish what it set out to. Recent critics of the disaster relief in Haiti such as Dr. John Kirsh from John Hopkins School of Medicine have said, "We could have written a check to everyone in Haiti for . . . \$10,000 a piece, which would support them forever rather than the way we spent it," (Beaubien 2013). Another critic is Jonathan Katz whose recent

2013 book, *The Big Truck That Went By, How the World Came to Save Haiti and Left Behind a Disaster*, is dedicated to the mishandling of the disaster relief effort on behalf of the international community. Katz also brings light to the discovery of how cholera entered Haiti and became another tragic national disaster brought about because of human negligence on an international level.

Haiti's occupation by NGOs is unique but the way the world responds to this becomes a global problem. Sanctioning and embargoing countries to put a strain on the ruthless oppressive government is a tactic the U.S. and the U.N. are known for executing. Again the sanctions and embargoes are not hurting the dictators but the poor. Children starve in developing countries due to sanctions and embargoes placed on their country and it is up to the international community to find a different way of pressuring governments. Haiti illustrates to the international human rights community the "promises not kept" (Ibister 2006) by the international community and most significantly the U.S., France, and the U.N. Haiti represents the failure of international aid to develop and secure development in a developing country.

Haiti's dependency is deeply rooted beginning in the nineteenth century and continuing to this day. Haiti is not dependent upon these foreign powers and NGOs because it wants to be but because these powers have kept the Haitians dependent. Every article about basic infrastructure in Haiti leads one to read about the work of NGOs. NGOs, the U.S., France, and the U.N. have all either occupied or are currently occupying Haiti. Haiti must regain its sovereignty in order to overcome its implemented dependency. Yet it is not just Haiti that must let go of its dependency; the U.S. and NGOs must also let go of their dependency on Haiti's dependency. The goal of NGOs is to improve the humanitarian needs of poor people and when

they have achieved this goal to leave. It is true that Haiti is not better, and that they are not improving with the help of the U.S. and the U.N. Therefore adjustments need to be made in their relationship with one another, debts need to be forgiven, embargoes must be lifted, and Haiti must be recognized by the international community as a sovereign nation so that genuine partnership may occur in working with the Haitian government. Philippe Girard a leading historian on Haiti offers advice on how the U.S. and international community can benefit Haiti:

as little as possible. U.S. farmers do not need to donate rice to hungry Haitians – this will undercut the local rice industry. U.S. taxpayers do not need to bankroll the Haitian government – this will make the business of running Haiti too lucrative and desirable. U.S. troops do not need to patrol the streets of Port-au-Prince – this will give rise to an understandable nationalist outcry. U.S. ambassadors do not need to select politicians they deem to be best suited for Haiti’s future – it is up to Haitians to set up their own government. . . the United States should limit itself to creating the conditions for lasting self-driven economic growth in Haiti. The U.S. . . should open the U.S. market, tax free, to Haitian-made goods. . . while lifting subsidies on farmers. (229)

These are the ideas needed to create a lasting Haiti. Haiti is need of optimism in order for the Haitians to grow and develop. Haiti’s underdevelopment is proof of it unending dependency. Therefore strategies that enable the Haitian population to define and control the direction of its development may be its end to dependency.

NOTES

1. GINI index is named after the Italian statistician Corrado Gini who coined the term, Gini coefficient, in his 1912 paper (World Bank).

2. In fact an increase in minimum wage would have a trickle down effect; more Haitians would be able to send their children to school which would increase the level of educated in the country, fewer Haitians would starve or have their children be malnourished because they could afford food, and Haitians as individuals would be less dependent upon aid for health care, education, food and security.

3. Overpopulation occurs because there is a lack of pregnancy needs due to lack of health care. Education helps to inform people about reproductive issues, pregnancy, and family planning and when this education is lacking people continue to reproduce often. Also the high infant mortality rates keeps the people reproducing because the chances of their children surviving are low. This is a factor with Haiti's current overpopulation.

4. For more information review Amnesty International's articles and following of the case at amnesty.org and search for Jean Claude Duvalier.

5. For a thorough examination of their organizations please visit their website, pih.org.

6. For more information on psychological effects of rape and sexual violence against women please refer to "Ruptures, rights, and repair: The political economy of trauma in Haiti," by Erica Caple James, *Social Science & Medicine*, Vol 70:1, January 2010, Pages 106-13.

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